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ABSTRACT

The topics of anthropologist-missionary relationships, theology and missiology, research methods and missionary contributions to ethnology, missionary training and methods, and specific case studies are presented. The ten essays are: (1) "An Ethnoethnography of Missionaries in Kalingaland" (Robert Lawless); (2) "Missionization and Social Change in Africa: The Case of the Church of the Brethren Mission/Ekklesiyar Yan'Uwa Nigeria in Northeastern Nigeria" (Philip Kulp); (3) "The Summer Institute of Linguistics/Wycliffe Bible Translators in Anthropological Perspective" (Robert Taylor); (4) "The Anthropological Perspective in 'Is God an American?'" (Claude Stipe); (5) "Authority and Religious Ideology among the Yoruba" (J.S. Eades); (6) "The Effects of Missionization on Cultural Identity in Two Societies" (Daniel T. Hughes); (7) "Sabbath Observance and the Social Construction of Religious Belief in a Scottish Calvinist Community" (Peter Mewett); (8) "Jamaican & Swiss-German Missionaries in the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast" (Dorothy Dee Vellenga); (9) "Perceptions of Medicine & Disease in Nigeria" (Robert Hess); and (10) "Differential Development and Missionaries in Nigeria" (Frank A. Salamone). (BZ)

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Missionaries and Anthropologists

PART II

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The Editors
STUDIES IN THIRD WORLD SOCIETIES
Department of Anthropology
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185 U.S.A.
Phone: (804) 253-4522

EDITORS
VINSON H. SUTLIVE
NATHAN ALTSHULER
MARIO D. ZAMORA
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PUBLISHER
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
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INTRODUCTION

FRANK SALAMONE
Elizabeth Seton College

The anthropological study of missionaries has matured. No longer is it fashionable, much less permissible, for serious anthropologists merely to dismiss missionaries as fanatics who sought to spoil "pristine primitives" while introducing the concept of sin into the Garden. Fortunately, anthropologists have extended our method of cultural relativism to missionaries.

In so doing we have discovered a number of surprising facts. Not all missionaries are alike. The differences, moreover, are significant and essential. Many missionaries have demonstrated more real ethnological concern than many ethnologists. Additionally, many ethnologists have borrowed rather extensively from missionaries or, at the least, enjoyed missionary hospitality in the field.

This collection of papers reflects this healthy new spirit in anthropological studies of missionaries and missionary endeavors. The overwhelming majority of the papers provide case studies used to test or illustrate basic anthropological principles and concepts. Each paper, in fact, uses an open-minded, scientific, approach to the material. Each author ties the material into a broader context, demonstrating an awareness of larger anthropological and historical issues.

Lawless and Taylor, for example, in their papers examine specific missionary groups in detail. Lawless uses ethnoscientific techniques to understand missionaries in Kalingaland. Taylor calls our attention to the significant debt anthropology owes to the linguistic work of missionaries, especially to the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Claude Stipe's paper provides a reasoned example of an even-handed anthropological approach to mission studies. It objectively reveals the flaws in the knee-jerk anti-missionary anthropology of the book Is God an American? In so doing, it demonstrates the advantages of reserving judgment in anthropology.

Equally demonstrating a balanced presentation and analysis of case study material and missionary influence are Kulp's and Mewett's works. Kulp's study encompasses a number of years and people. The Church of the Brethren mission in Northeastern Nigeria has had a long history and great influence on social change. Kulp brings a unique perspective to the study, for his father, Stover Kulp, was long the guiding spirit of the mission and Philip Kulp was raised on the station. Nevertheless, his study is amazingly objective and balanced.

Mewett's case study furnishes an interesting example of missionary work in a modern setting, Scotland. Mewett's mastery of history, economics, and anthropology is evident in his contextual paper. Moreover, the "social construction of reality" approach provides insight into Scots' world-view and places his study into a broader disciplinary setting.

Eades, Hess and Salamone, address somewhat wider areas than single communities. Eades begins with one Yoruba group but quickly discusses the broad issues of process and continuity in conversion. Similarly, Hess asks what the missionary's message meant to the "target population." Rather appropriately, he focuses on the field of medicine and disease, a classic mission concern.

Salamone directly addresses a related topic: the meaning of mission education to the Nigerian people. However, he seeks to examine missionary work a bit more holistically through placing it in the colonial context and taking "power" into account. Although differential access to mission education was not the only factor involved in Nigeria's separate development, it was a significant one.

Finally, Hughes and Vellenga offer another aspect of the anthropological endeavor: explicit comparative work. Hughes views conversion in the broader context of identity change. Exploring that concept, he offers the controlled comparison of conversion in Ponape and the Philippines. Valenga also provides a comparison. In her case, however, it is that between missionaries from two different ethnic groups: Jamaicans and Swiss-Germans.

All the papers are concerned with change and identity. Each of the authors has sought to bring scientific detachment to the study and to leave parochial squabbles behind. In that regard, the papers have profited from exposure at one of the following professional meetings: The International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in Quebec (August 1983) or the African Studies Association in Boston (December 1983).

AN ETHNOETHNOGRAPHY OF MISSIONARIES IN KALINGALAND

ROBERT LAWLESS
University of Florida

The activities of Christian missionaries among the Kalingas of the North Luzon Highlands are the general topic of this paper. More specifically I focus on the Kalingas in the Pasil River drainage area and on the teachings and behaviors of both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries. Most of my field data come from informants in a village named Balatok on the upper levels of the Pasil River -- one of the few Kalinga villages that has entertained both Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Since all the missionaries had left before I came into the area, all of my data comes from information that the Kalingas themselves had "gathered" before I arrived. Hence the notion of this paper as an "ethnoethnography."

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

The Kalingas live in the north central section of the North Luzon Highlands on the largest island in the Philippines. Sometimes referred to as the Cordillera Central, these highlands are a rugged and sharply dissected block of mountains averaging about 65 kilometers wide between 120 degrees and 122 degrees longitude and stretching north from approximately 16 degrees north latitude for about 320 kilometers. This massive mountainous area, the largest in the Philippine archipelago, contains several peaks over 2740 meters in its southern areas. Kalinga territory (Kalingaland) extends perhaps 30 kilometers north-south and 80 kilometers east-west around the 17 degrees north latitude mark where the peaks are about 2400 meters. With a population of approximately 72,500 the Kalingas constitute one ethnolinguistic group among perhaps eight in the North Luzon Highlands.

Subsistence among the Kalingas is based on a rice staple raised both in permanent irrigated rice terraces and in swiddens. In addition to rice a variety of root crops, legumes, and vegetables is grown in the swiddens. Animal protein is derived mainly from the meat of domesticated pigs and water buffalos, though in the forested areas Kalingas consume a variety of wildlife, such as deer, wild pigs, bats, lizards, and birds.

Kalinga kinship structure is normatively bilateral, matrilocal, conjugal, and monogamous. Devoid of corporate and descent groups, Kalinga social structure expresses itself in such units as the kindred (often including siblings, first, second, and third cousins, and the ascendants and descendants of these up through the great grandparents and down through the great grandchildren), the household (generally the nuclear family centered on a single hearth), the extended household (usually a few households linked by married siblings), the work exchange group (containing several households organized around planting and harvesting requirements), the settlement (a mobile location for households), and the region (the largest indigenous unit among the Kalingas, an endogamous deme containing 60 to 1000 households).

HISTORY

Ferdinand Magellan discovered the Philippines for Spain in 1521, and the first Spanish contact with Northern

Luzon was in 1572 when Juan de Salcedo, the grandson of Miguel de Legazpi (who occupied the Manila area in 1565) explored the Ilocos coast. He learned about the gold mines in the North Luzon Highlands, which initiated the Spanish interest in the southern areas of the mountains. These areas are, however, quite removed from Kalingaland, and Kalingas have been rather isolated from modern governments well into the 1970s.

The rare pre-19th century encounters of the Kalingas with Spaniards resulted primarily from the Spanish posts in the province of Abra to the west of Kalingaland. The village of Bangued, Abra Province, was established as a Spanish military outpost in 1598. In 1614 the first missionary Juan de Pareja went into Western Kalingaland (Schmitz 1971:45), but not much missionary work was done until the 1800s when the Augustinian Order established missions among the Western Kalingas and among the Apayaos, the Kalingas' northern neighbors. These missions have a bloody history, being burned down with all the Spaniards beheaded, being re-established by the Spaniards, and then being destroyed again. In 1898 the Roman Catholic church was expelled from Abra Province by Philippine revolutionaries, and then it was reestablished under American rule by Dutch and German Catholics, the Society of the Divine Word.

Most of the Spanish missionary efforts followed the sword and were concentrated in the south of the North Luzon Highlands among the Ibaloys and the Kankanays where there were known gold and copper mines and among those groups more easily accessible, such as the Ifugaos on the east around Kiangan, the Apayaos along the Cagayan and Abulug Rivers, and the Western Kalingas (sometimes referred to in the literature as Tinguians) on the rivers flowing into the Ilocos Coast, especially the Abra River. The Southern Kalingas, of whom the Pasil Kalingas are one part, were in isolated, rugged interior mountains, areas never conquered and occupied by the Spaniards, and the Spanish missionary efforts were little felt there.

SPANIARDS IN SOUTHERN KALINGALAND

The first contact between Spaniards and Southern Kalingas came in 1835 when Guillermo Galvey made an expedition deep into Abra Province to the village of Baay where some people from the major Pasil cultural area of Guinaang came to meet him. Three years later Galvey established a military post in Bukay, Abra Province, a village probably settled by people from Guinaang. In 1842 Jose Maria Penaranda attacked villages in the Banao Region around Balbalasang to the north of the Pasil River area, and two years later he made an expedition against Guinaang itself. Except for this one punitive expedition in 1844, apparently no Spaniards entered the Pasil area until the latter half of the 19th century when a horse trail was built from Abra Province through Kalingaland to Cagayan Province and a military post was established at Guinaang to maintain this trail -- parts of which are still intact.

Kalingas in their 60s and 70s well remember their older relatives telling stories about the small Spanish post at the village of Guinaang. Several old men who died in the 1970s claimed to have gone to "school" in Guinaang and could count to ten in Spanish to prove it. The school was probably a small operation for cargaderos, and Spaniards or lowland Filipinos could have conceivably taught the Kalinga employees a few Spanish commands.

The primary interest of the Spaniards, then, centered on the gold and copper mines in the southern areas of the North Luzon Highlands. In 1668, however, they finally gave up the notion of direct occupation -- after great costs to both the Spaniards and the Mountaineers. Thereafter Spanish interest in the North Luzon Highlands centered on their attempt to control trade between the highlanders and the lowlanders for the protection of the Spanish tobacco monopoly. The Spaniards were not very successful in this endeavor either. After the tobacco monopoly was abolished in 1882 the Spaniards paid little attention to the highlands.

Throughout this period the Spanish missionaries enjoyed very little success in the highlands except in the foothill areas bordering on Spanish controlled territory. None of the early Spanish missionaries ever stayed in the North Luzon Highlands more than ten years, and more than a few of them lost their heads in their work. As far as I can determine, no missionaries entered the central Kalinga areas before the twentieth century. There is certainly no record of any staying there for an appreciable length of time.

AMERICANS IN THE NORTH LUZON HIGHLANDS

After accepting the surrender of the remnants of the Spanish forces and then destroying the army of their erstwhile Philippine allies the Americans took over as colonial masters of the Philippines. They set up their civil government in 1902 and proved much more successful than the Spaniards in establishing administrative control throughout the North Luzon Highlands. Until their spirit and funds were dampened by the Great Depression of the 1930s, Americans expended much time and effort in the Philippines in spreading their particular notions of civilization.

One aspect of this large-scale effort at acculturation was the dividing up of the Philippines into spheres of missionary influence. The Western Kalingas, as I have mentioned, were given to the missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, who first arrived in Bangued, Abra Province, in 1909 (Schmitz 1971:16). A variety of Protestants soon also followed in Abra Province most predominantly the United Brethren church, along with Methodists and Baptists.

The bulk of the North Luzon Highlands fell administratively into the old Mountain Province, which was composed of the subprovinces of Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, and Apayao, each of which became a separate province in 1967 (with Kalinga and Apayao combined). In 1907 this entire territory was given over to the Congregacion de Immaculada Corazon de Maria, sometimes known by its English translation, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary -- or as they are commonly called in the Philippines, the Belgian Fathers. Initially seven missionaries came, and at first the missions were in Benguet Subprovince to the south where the effect of the Spaniards had been most heavily felt. Next, missionary activity followed the American flag north when the Americans established their administrative headquarters in Bontoc Town, just south of Kalingaland.

MISSIONARIES IN KALINGALAND

The most important Roman Catholic missionary for the Kalingas was Father Francisco Billiet. He initially worked in Benguet Subprovince starting in 1911, and then in 1916 he was assigned to Bontoc Town. Billiet first came through the Pasil River area in 1918, and in 1919 he bought two houses in the villages of Guinaang and Pugong, according to several informants, though written accounts say he started his missionary work among the Kalingas in 1920 (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970:iv). In 1924 Billiet was permanently assigned to the village of Lubuagan, a village near the confluence of the Pasil and Chico Rivers that the Americans had chosen in 1908 as the administrative center for Kalinga Subprovince.

In addition to the Belgian Fathers a variety of Protestant missions soon appeared. The United Brethren Church started its work in 1904 in Baguio City and founded the Kalinga Academy -- now under the United Church of Christ in the Philippines -- in Lubuagan Poblacion in 1927. In fact both Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary groups set up schools in Lubuagan Poblacion since it had assumed an importance for the colonial administration of Kalingaland. St. Theresita's is the one operated by the Belgian Fathers. The Episcopal Church began missionary activities in Bontoc Town in 1903 and about 20 years later established a mission among the Kalingas in the village of Balbalasang. The Philippine Lutheran Mission established a mission in 1906 at the Kalinga village of Basao. An official of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines lived in Dangtalan, a Pasil village, for a while sometime before World War II. And the New Tribes Mission, a U. S. funded Protestant organization, put an American missionary in the Kalinga village of Butbut in April 1974.

Missionary activity among the Southern Kalingas had been rather sporadic and not particularly strongly supported by the Kalingas themselves. For example, the United Church of Christ in the Philippines tried to reestablish the mission in the village of Dangtalan in 1959. Three successive lowland Filipino deaconesses were sent there over the next several years, and all complained of lack of support from the local population. The Dangtalan mission closed in 1968 due to this lack of village support and also apparently to a lack of missionary funds. In Tulgao, a major cultural center to the south of Pasil, an anthropologist reported the abandonment of the Catholic chapel in 1968 (von Furer-Haimendorf 1970:197).

MISSIONARIES IN PASIL

For the most part, then, missionary activity had declined by the mid 1970s when I did my fieldwork in Kalingaland. In only two out of the 13 villages in the Pasil River area are the chapel houses actually maintained and visited occasionally by a priest or minister. One of these villages is Balatok, and the other is Guinaang. In the rest of the Pasil villages the chapel sites are abandoned. Many of the activities of past missionaries are, however, well remembered by Kalingas.

First, I will focus on missionary impacts on childhood (or prestige) ceremonies among the Southern Kalingas. Next I will discuss the Kalinga interpretation of Christian teachings and the differential effects of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries in the village of Balatok.

Childhood Ceremonies

The most common childhood ceremony is called Gabbok and is performed when the child begins to contribute economically to the family. It is believed that this ceremony will help the child to grow bigger. The ceremony requires a medium and slaughtering of a water buffalo, though a pig is acceptable. Dancing and oratorical contests usually accompany this village-wide ceremony, which is the only one still performed regularly in many parts of Southern Kalingaland and performed occasionally in the Pasil River area. A ceremony called Inom is performed by a medium when the child or mother is sick.

It is similar to a gabbok ceremony though the contests may be eliminated if the sickness is regarded as serious. Tangkil is performed for a child who continually cries. It requires a medium and the butchering of two chickens or one pig. Uliging may be performed any time and consists of praying by the medium and the slaughtering of many chickens and some pigs. Its purpose is to assure that the child will not have any lame parts. Gangqangao is a general ceremony that can be performed for any number of reasons, such as the child's first word. It requires a medium and generally considerable slaughtering of water buffalos and pigs.

For the most part only wealthier households conducted these ceremonies. The portions of the slaughtered animals were distributed to everyone in attendance, and as a consequence many poorer households received meat. By the 1920s these childhood ceremonies had become expensive due to the rising costs of livestock. The nominal acceptance of the missionaries seems closely related to the eagerness of the richer households to drop the childhood ceremonies by interpreting the teaching of the missionaries as being against the ceremonies. Such a connection has also been suggested by Fred Eggan for the Kalingas in Abra Province (1974:16).

In the Pasil River area the heads of wealthy households apparently had difficulty getting the missionaries to go against these childhood (or prestige) ceremonies. Seasoned missionaries such as Father Billiet were not eager to speak against local customs. When questioned on this point, most of my informants of lower socioeconomic standing said something like this: "The missionaries did not speak directly against the customs but simply taught Christianity, and we learned the good way and stopped our old practices." Informants of high socioeconomic standing said something like this: "The missionaries weren't familiar with which of our customs were bad and which were good, and the people couldn't really understand the teachings of the missionaries. We had to explain to both the missionaries and the people the true meaning of Christianity for Kalingas."

It seems clear that the socioeconomic elite were closely monitoring the activities of the missionaries and were interpreting the meaning of the presence of missionaries for their own benefit. In a time of constricting opportunities to gain and maintain wealth the socioeconomic elite could no longer afford to practice ceremonies that brought them nothing and only distributed meat to the people and payments to the mediums. The presence of the missionaries was never interpreted by the power elite as a signal that those slaughtering ceremonies incumbent upon all, for example, funerals, should be dropped, since the elite used these ceremonies as a mechanism for gaining land by lending the necessary water buffalos to those too poor to own livestock and taking their land as collateral.

Kalinga Cosmos

Before moving on to the topics of Christian teachings and the differential impact of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries -- as perceived by the Kalingas themselves -- we need to have some idea of the sociocultural setting -- beyond the bare ethnographic outline that I have gave -- into which these missionaries moved. The Kalingas have definite notions of just what constitutes religion and religious persons and just what qualifications an ethical and moral leader should have.

Most articulate Kalingas, when asked about the essential characteristics of a proper people, reply most often using terms that refer to honesty, honor, and hospitality. Kalingas live in a world in which all things, inanimate and animate, must be given due respect and all things must be honored for what they are. Kalingas are furthermore not only individuals who both give and receive honor and respect, they are representatives of their families and regions, responsible for assuring hospitality to deserving others. Kalingas therefore receive honor and respect and deserve hospitality only when they themselves display these qualities with appropriate honesty and sincerity. Although Kalingas may express their individuality to its fullest extent, they must pull themselves up short when their behavior would bring any sort of dishonor or disrespect upon their family or upon their region (cf. Magannon 1972 and 1973).

Within this cosmos important and honorable activities include hunting, story-telling, ceremonial slaughtering of animals, labor-group reciprocity, and the sharing of possessions and experiences with others. In the past an enormous amount of prestige was gained through headtaking, an activity that has declined recently. Oratorical ability is now much admired. In addition Kalingas place considerable emphasis on the ability to hike at a rapid pace over mountains; people who slip on the trail, lag behind, or lose their way are said to be poor warriors.

A Western educated Kalinga writing on religion has noted, "In many religions the world over there is hierarchy of power and authority in the priesthood. Such, for instance, is the case among the priests of the Ifugaos. Some are higher in rank equivalent to the christian archbishops and bishops; others are lower in rank, again similar to the ordinary priests in the christian churches. Among the media of the... Kalingas, such hierarchy of power and authority is absent" (Magannon 1972:51).

This general description applies for the most part to all Kalingas, though certainly the religion of the Kalingas is not homogeneous; the Western Kalingas are preoccupied mainly with non-human malevolent spirits; Northern Kalingas have little in the way of elaborate funeral ceremonies; Southern Kalingas are concerned with ancestral spirits, but this concern has not developed into an ancestral worship as with the Ifugaos (see Barton 1946).

Christian Teachings

I have already illustrated how missionary teachings were used by the elite in manipulating public attitudes toward childhood ceremonies. Certainly vast differences exist between the elite and the lay public in their knowledge and understanding of the theology of Christianity. There is also a considerable difference between the village elite and those of the elite who have attended missionary schools in Lubuagan Poblacion. For example, village elders who initially presented themselves and their village to me as Roman Catholic were usually unable to name more than three of the seven sacraments, while the few younger people of these families who had been sent to St. Theresita's could easily name all seven. Later in my fieldwork after I had established some rapport these village elders and other members of the village elite would readily admit to me that there is really very little that is Christian about their village and that the people educated in the missionary schools are always the youngest, least influential members of households.

Due to the lack of missionaries in Kalingaland when I was there and due also to the lack of prestige of the students then enrolled in missionary schools I found it more interesting to concentrate on the non-elite, lay interpretation of past missionary teachings. In other words, as a continuation of my ethno-ethnography of missionaries I am now attempting to gain some insight into the Kalinga folk model of Christianity.

I should mention that the version I received of the Kalinga interpretation of Christianity was always an edited version colored by their perception of my motives in questioning them. The elite were usually interested in presenting an idealized version of Kalinga society and their presentation of the Kalinga reaction to Christianity was -- at least initially -- that of acceptance and compliance. Members of the lay public were less interested in impressing on me the alleged acculturation of Kalinga society.

On my third and last trip to Balatok, which occurred almost a year after my first trip, I was struck by what had changed from a picture of enthusiastic acceptance of Christianity on the part of my Kalinga informants to one of a vaguely incredulous reaction to Christian teachings and mild amusement toward the missionaries themselves. I regard this later information as more accurately reflecting the true Kalinga folk model. Part of the reason for the change in information was due to the general establishment of better rapport and part of it was due to my success, or at least partial success, in convincing the Balatok Kalingas that I was not a Christian even though I was an American -- two facts that appear somewhat incongruous within the historical context of the American Christian mission in the Philippines.

Among Kalingas only a dim perception exists of the enormous resources and institutional structures behind these missions. Protestant missions were very closely identified with the United States and with the corresponding notions most Kalingas have of America as a rich and powerful nation. This identification comes from both the fact that most Protestant missionaries were Americans or American-trained lowland Filipinos and the fact that Protestantism was usually explicitly presented as an American religion. In a vague way Kalingas seem aware of the often discussed aspects of American Christian Protestant theology (e.g., Albanese 1981:251-263) such as equality, denominationalism, reductionism, anti-intellectualism, ahistoricism, and moralism.

The egalitarian approach of Protestantism appealed to the egalitarian-oriented Kalingas, whose own elite has traditionally changed membership rather rapidly. They find the notion of the hierarchical leadership structure of Catholicism disturbing, though they admitted their notion of this structure comes more from the students in school in Lubuagan Poblacion than from the teaching of the Catholic missionaries. One Balatok Kalinga claimed, "The Protestant missionaries told us that every man could speak to God directly without getting anyone's permission. The Fathers said we had to get his permission first and then he had to contact his superiors." The individualistic Kalingas, who speak directly to a large number of spirits in their indigenous religion, seem confused by Roman Catholic concepts of leadership.

In discussing the leadership aspects of Catholic-Protestant differences Balatok Kalingas often mentioned that the Catholics emphasized a woman, Mary, as the leader of their religion, and the Protestants emphasized a man, Jesus, as their leader. Kalingas seem to be able to accept the notion of a virgin birth on the part of one leader and the rising from the dead on the part of the other since such notions are explicable in terms of Kalinga beliefs (I came across at least two cases of Kalinga women who had been impregnated by spirits). Kalingas did find it difficult, however, to understand how Christians could believe that a personage with the alleged power of Jesus -- the son of God -- would allow himself to be killed by mere mortals. A pragmatic people, the Kalingas assume that such a personage would use his power against his enemies. Many seem to regard the "suicide" (an often repeated interpretation) of Jesus as a serious flaw in the teachings of Christian missionaries. They think either that the missionaries actually do not understand their own religion or that this particular teaching is part of an as-yet-unexplained trick on the part of the missionaries. At any rate, neither Jesus nor Mary appear to Kalingas to be likely candidates for religious leadership.

Balatok Kalingas continue to seriously question the Protestant missionaries' understanding of religion for at least three reasons: (1) The perceived simplicity of Protestant doctrine seems to Kalingas reflective of missionaries with a simple-minded concept of religion. In other words, they are sure there must be more to Protestantism than the missionaries told them. (2) An intensely curious people, Kalingas are negatively impressed with the lack of interest Protestant missionaries displayed in Kalinga culture -- in contrast to the intensive interest demonstrated by Roman Catholic priests. They assume that a lack of curiosity reflects an anti-intellectualism -- or at least a certain amount of intellectual passivity -- not associated with the Kalinga notion of a religious leader. (3) Kalingas are disappointed with the barrenness of Protestant ceremonies, and, again in contrast, they find the rich symbolism of Catholic rituals rather pleasing.

In addition to the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism, Balatok Kalingas are aware of differing brands of Protestantism since they have been proselytized both by missionaries of the United Brethren Church and by visitors from the Episcopal Church. One interpretation of denominationalism relates it to a perceived lack of historical depth and tradition in Protestantism. One Balatok Kalinga said, "Protestantism must be very new because they haven't developed all the rituals of Catholicism." Another observed, "Since the Protestant missionaries are always disagreeing with each other, it must mean that they haven't been around long enough to settle their differences, even though they always talk about the same book."

Kalingas are indeed often amused by the Protestant emphasis on the Bible; the notion of dependence on a book is incomprehensible to a nonliterate people who view books as a source of cigarette wrapping paper. They somehow associate the perceived rigidity of Protestant teachings as related to this dependency. Several Balatok Kalingas commented that the Protestant teachings left no room for humanness, no allowance for fallibility, which even the Kalinga gods exhibit. This adherence to moralism was contrasted unfavorably with the situational orientation of Catholic teachings and the perceived tolerance of Catholicism for behavioral deviations.

From an enormous amount of notes on many interviews with many individuals I have tried to reconstruct Kalinga perceptions of Christianity as an alien religion. In their conversations with me on this topic, however, Balatok Kalingas made no real attempt on their own to separate Christian teachings from missionary personalities. Kalingas have a great interest in individual idiosyncracies, and the behaviors and activities of the several missionaries that lived in Kalingaland have become the stuff of stories and legends. In the last section of this paper I will try to give just the flavor of this personal aspect of the ethnography of missionaries. I say "just the flavor" because for the most part the Balatok Kalingas' characterization of Christian missionaries is highly unflattering, and I do not want to give so many details that actual individuals might be recognized.

Missionary Behavior

Kalingas are acute observers of human behavior and the Balatok Kalingas have many amusing and involved stories about particular missionaries including such details as how one gentleman constantly picked at his nose, a behavior that any number of Kalingas would delight in mimicking. I believe, however, that this ethnoethnography will gain more from a more abstract level of description and from a continuation of the comparison of Protestant and Catholic missionaries.

T. O. Beidelman writes, "Historical accounts describe intense conflict between competing Christian missions .... This animosity was (and is) particularly intense between Evangelical Protestants and Catholics.... This was embarrassing to missionaries and administrators alike since colonialists sought to present Africans with the illusion that Europeans formed a solid front toward the indigenous population" (1982:12). Americans had this same concern in the Philippines, but since they divided the country among different missionaries, the competition was not quite so striking -- at least initially.

There is, however, general agreement not only in Balatok but also among all my informants throughout the villages in the Pasil River area on several easily observable differences in behavior between the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries. The Protestants usually stayed in the nearby administrative center of Lubuagan Poblacion and visited the villages in the relatively isolated Pasil River area only rarely, while the Catholic priests either stayed in the villages or visited them regularly. Also, the Catholics appointed indigenous teachers to spread the doctrine, while the Protestants sent lowland Filipinos, generally Ilocanos, as teachers, and these teachers stayed in the villages for only brief periods. Neither group of missionaries introduced any new foods; the Catholics ate native foods and the Protestants kept their imported canned foods strictly to themselves. The topic of missionaries and the lack of their contribution to food and food production is, in fact, a somewhat bitter one to many Balatok Kalingas.

When Kalingas honor anyone for what they perceive that person to be, hospitality plays an important part in the evaluation. Part of this hospitality comes from being able to provide food beyond what is consumed by the members of the household. Missionaries had no observable means of support, and more than one Kalinga mentioned the word dishonest to describe the notion that the village should somehow support missionaries who did not own land and did not work the fields. In Dangtalan in the 1960s the missionaries expected to receive at least one handful of rice each month from each household, though they rarely got this much rice. The common explanation for ignoring missionaries goes something like this: "Why should we pay any attention to people who cannot support themselves and do not offer hospitality to others?"

One of several requirements for leadership among Kalingas does indeed involve the ability to behave as a proper host, but there are additional avenues to respectability. Missionaries, however, rarely engaged in activities that would allow them to show skills that would be appreciated by Kalingas, such as hunting, rapid hiking, ceremonial slaughtering of animals, and labor-group reciprocity. Some missionaries did tell stories, but for the most part the Kalinga style of oration is essentially foreign to Western and even lowland Filipino missionaries. It is extremely dramatic and uses word play to a highly developed degree not easily managed by foreigners.

The only missionary that the Balatok Kalingas came close to considering a leader was the Roman Catholic priest Father Billiet, who was essentially a scholar of the Kalingas and was well versed in their customs and lived with them until his death in 1978. None of my informants could even recall the names of the many Protestant missionaries coming through their village usually from the Episcopal station at Balbalasang, the New Tribes station at Butbut, or the United Church of Christ in the Philippines station at Lubuagan.

Interestingly this Kalinga perception of the missionaries reflects the Protestant and Catholic conceptions of a religious leader as a priest or minister. Unlike ministers, especially those in evangelical groups, all priests must have the equivalent of a college degree, and many of them are regarded as scholars or at least specialists in some area of knowledge. Protestants -- both in their leadership styles and in their evaluation of religious conversion -- tend to emphasize zeal and sincerity as demonstrated through a puritanical code of conduct rather than skill or knowledge, even knowledge of ritual. Priests therefore generally tend to have a greater educational and social commitment than do most ministers.

A final point on differences between Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Balatok relates to the fact that Protestant missionaries may be married while Catholic ones will not be. My Balatok informants recall one Protestant missionary who was there in the early 1950s. He was a lowland Filipino with a wife and two small children. Balatok Kalingas were impressed most with two things. First, the wife did almost nothing during the entire six months or so that they were in Balatok. And, second, the missionary seemed to be highly concerned with the sexual vulnerability of his wife, never allowing her to be alone with Kalinga men -- behavior understandable among lowland Filipinos, but behavior regarded by Kalingas as silly at its best and at its worst as neurotic.

Although missionaries are not trained as agricultural extensionists, and the ones in Kalingaland certainly had no knowledge of agriculture, the topic of most concern to most Kalingas in this highly dissected mountain region is that of land use. My Kalinga informants expressed extreme disappointment that the missionaries displayed no interest in agriculture. Balatok Kalingas claimed that neither group of missionaries had any impact whatsoever on land usage, though I am aware that missionaries did pick some of their better students to go to government agriculture schools. Several of these are now employed by the government in agricultural development, but all of them are located in the lowland areas of Kalinga-Apayao Province -- in the broad, potentially important Cagayan River valley where the government has recently focused its attention -- and they have no contact and no effect on the agriculture of the Kalingas.

NOTES

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MISSIONIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN MISSION/EKKLESIYAR YAN'UWA A NIGERIA IN NORTHEASTERN NIGERIA[1]

PHILIP M. KULP
Shippensburg University

RESUME

Increasing attention has been given in the literature to the role played by expatriate communities in the social change of modernizing nations. One such community is that of Western missionaries and the impact they have on the societies they have invaded. This study stands in a line of others made by Ayandale, Boer, Beidleman, Fashole-Luke, Jules-Rosetts, Roteberg, Salamone, et al. Using as a case study the Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria, the indigenous church that resulted from the Church of the Brethren Mission in Nigeria (1923-1983), this research[2] focuses on the development of the mission, the activity of missionaries in the field, a few of the social changes and the Nigerian response.

INTRODUCTION

Religion has always been an important, if not a prominent, concern in the social sciences. A study of the world view of a people is necessary to understand their value system, and hence what looms as paramount for any given society. Recent studies within the areas of anthropology, history, psychology, and sociology have shown an interest in the correlation between change in religious perceptions and changes in the socio-cultural matrix of a society. Therefore, there has been a growing interest in the contribution that Western Christian missionary activity has made to the process of modernization referred to by Balandier as the "colonial situation."

> Anthropological research devoted to social change has almost never taken into account the colonial situation as a particular conjunctive imposing a certain orientation to agents and processes of transformation... the colonial society is of European origin and constitutes a numerical minority of a bourgeois character, which believes in a notion of heroic superiority (Balandier 1965:36,39).

The purpose of this study, which has been in progress over the past five years, has been to analyze the activity of one such expatriate missionary community and to seek the evaluation or response of those missionized. The study focuses on the Church of the Brethren Mission in Northeastern Nigeria from 1923-1983. There are several reasons for choosing this particular group.

In the first place, this researcher, having been a part of the group under discussion, has access to primary and secondary resources. The mission was co-founded by H. Stover Kulp, my father. I was born in Lassa, Nigeria, which now occupies a place on the world map because of the infamous Lassa fever (Fuller: 1974). My unique position was further enhanced by the fact that I was frequently referred to as Yerima Lassa ("Prince of Lassa"), making possible a rapport difficult for most researchers to achieve.

Secondly, having been employed as an educator by the mission from 1958-1963, I was in a position to understand the missionary. Finally, these two factors provided me with access to people, materials, and resources available to few others. This paper represents a part of this research which is the result of previous studies made with the help of several informants and a recently completed sabbatical field study. I am grateful to the more than one hundred informants who helped reconfirm previously stated assumptions.

The approach of this research is that of a social scientist, and there is no attempt to employ the fields of church history or theology, or a philosophy of missions in the broader context. This approach is better covered by others such as C. H. Kraft, E. A. Nida, W. A. Smalley, et al.

It is my sincere hope that those who read this work will accept it in the spirit in which it is written. There are critical evaluations that are not intended to condemn anyone, but to point out areas where ones own socialization and ethnocentrism, albeit clothed in well-meaning, resulted in a lack of sensitivity between two diverse cultures. There was a failure to communicate on both the side of the missionaries and of the Nigerians. It is hoped that this study will further such a communication.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

That the Western missionary was an integral part of the colonial society requires no debate, missionary disclaimers notwithstanding. The missionaries attempted to maintain their distance from other members of the colonial society. They tried to demonstrate that there was a difference despite the similarity in cultural backgrounds. Several notations in the personal journal of one missionary expressed bewilderment over the fact that non-missionary colonials could claim to be Christian and still behave the way they did (Kulp, H.). The same journal contains reservations about the actions of several of his colleagues, as well. The missionary was willing, however, to utilize the colonial infrastructure for supplies, permits, and information, and to request official favors in order to expedite mission objectives. On the other side, colonial officers on tour accepted invitations to meals and lodging with mission staff. It is interesting to note, however, that the Nigerians made little or no distinction between missionary and colonial servants.

One incident which reveals the ambiguous relationship between the two expatriate communities is found in correspondence between Kulp, who was the Field Secretary of the Church of the Brethren Mission, and the Home Board of the denomination. The Church of the Brethren has as one of its beliefs that all war is sin, and that a true Christian cannot participate in military affairs. However, this pacifism was not highly visible in the mission teaching outside of the more basic love ethic.

In 1940, when the mission was requested to name one of its number as a peace representative, the reply from the field after making the appointment was as follows:

> We don't know what you want him to do. We are very pro-British. I am afraid and have very little sympathy for those who speak of ruthless British Imperialism. They do not live in the present. Regardless of what the past may have been, we have to think of what can be done in a world situation as we are in -- and what is being done. (Letter in files of C.B.M. Garkida, Nigeria)

The major result of the colonial situation was to create a pluralism which was described in detail by J. S. Furnivall's concept of pluralism, which exists in the form of a colonial society and a colonized one. The characteristics of the colonized society are the following:

> (1) Its overwhelming numerical superiority, and (2) the racial domination to which it is subjected. Although in numerical majority it is nevertheless a sociological

> minority... 'colonization means power,' which entails the loss of autonomy. the function of each of the segments of the colonial society is to insure domination in a well-defined domain (political, economic, and almost always spiritual) (emphasis mine) (Balandier 1965:41).

Commenting further on this theoretical position Balandier notes:

> Sometimes these divisions preceded European colonization, and were the result, for example, of the conquering movements of Islam. But in a number of places colonization has introduced religious confusion opposing Christianity to traditional religions, and Christians of various denominations among themselves (1965:42).

This study will show that the above-mentioned confusion existed within the mission society itself, a fact which had ramifications in the converted group of Africans. The conclusion to be made is that a study of expatriate missionary groups must be within the theoretical context of Balandier's colonial situation and Furnivall's pluralism.

A further note on Furnivall's pluralism at this point will clarify the writer's analysis. Furnivall was himself a colonial servant and then became a university lecturer and author. His concept of pluralism is not the only one to be found in modernization literature. There are basically two major concepts of pluralism. One form is an equilibrium model (Kuper 1969:8) best exemplified by the United States of America since the 1950's. In this model, diverse political and social elements have their own identifying characteristics but function within a more or less commonly accepted ideology often described as "the American Way." These diverse groups compete but do not subordinate each other. Thus is created a form of unity with diversity which does not threaten the fabric of the society.

In contrast with the equilibrium model is the conflict model, which best describes the concepts of Balandier and Furnivall. As applied to colonialism, the rest is the domination of Western industrial societies over the peoples who now comprise the third and fourth world nations. These nations and peoples have been exploited to meet the needs of the colonial power, creating subordination and conflict (Kuper 1969:10). Two cultures existed side by side: one was industrial, urban, and scientific. The literature refers to these as being modern or developed. On the other hand there is the traditional, agrarian, and village way of life. These are the present developing or modernizing nations. Furnivall notes:

> ...they mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet but only in the market place, in buying and selling. Economic symbiosis and mutual avoidance, cultural diversity and social cleavages characterize the social basis of the plural society (1948:304).

Pluralism as practiced by the colonial nations has resulted in the two culture system in Africa. One is the traditional African culture and the other is that of the white expatriate community (Smith 1969:170).

Salamone (1976) emphasizes the need to study expatriate communities as a method of refining the theory of pluralism. He argues:

> ...for expatriate societies are but one transformation of plural societies, one possible concrete manifestation of deeper underlying structural principles. Before social anthropology can uncover these structural principles there is a need for increased empirical research and clearer conceptualization of the problem (1976:1).

The situation referred to by Salamone is further clarified by this comment of Beidleman:

> Anthropologists tend to neglect those groups nearest themselves, and in the scurry to conduct relevant research... a broader area of great theoretical interest has been passed by. Almost no attention was ever paid by anthropologist to the study of colonial groups such as administrators, missionaries, or traders.... Anthropologists may have spoken about studying their compatriots as subjects for wonder and analysis.... Colonial structures may be viewed as variants of a broader type, that of the complex bureaucratic organization (1974:235-236).

A recent study by Beidleman (1982) suggests some important theoretical approaches to missionization. This writer recognizes his debt to this study as it correlates with this research. He comments:

> Colonial life is a topic neglected by anthropology even though only two generations ago it involved nearly half the world and was witnessed by most anthropologists as part of their fieldwork. There are no anthropological or sociological studies of European officials, planters, traders, or missionaries anywhere in Africa. There are useful general historical accounts, biographies, and reminiscences by retired colonialists, but little comparable to what competent anthropologists or sociologists would undertake (1982:1-2).

The reason for the lack of such studies is unclear. As Beidleman notes, there are studies of African societies but not of expatriate ones. There may be an indictment of the social sciences which can see the visible they in the African, while the European becomes a we. Just as the white missionary found it difficult to separate himself completely from the white colonial servant, so may be the case with Western social scientists (Beidleman 1982:2). Hopefully African social scientists will aid in correcting the problem.

Nigerians were quick to point out to me a fact observed by Beidleman:

> Furthermore, colonialism is not dead in Africa, if by colonialism we mean cultural domination with enforced social change. I refer not only to continued economic and political influence by former colonial powers but also to domination of the poor and uneducated masses by a privileged and powerful native elite fiercely determined to make changes for whatever reasons (1982:2).

Missions are an example of a colonial organization which employs many of the factors of complex organizations as outlined by Weberian theory:

> Their large scale and technological demands require hierarchical, bureaucratic organizations in which elites, privileged in education and income, administer a subordinate multitude.... Staff serve as buffers and manipulators between decision makers and an administered populace.... Christian missions represent the most naive and ethnocentric, and therefore the most thorough-going, facet of colonial life (Beidleman 1982:5,6).

Missionaries responded to a call of the Church to fulfill the command of Jesus as recorded in Matthew 28:19: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." (R.S.V.)

The Church of the Brethren holds as one of its faith tenets that the New Testament is the rule of faith for the Church. In many ways the members attempt to practice as accurately as possible the example of the early Church. The early Brethren were leery of too much formal education, so that much of their faith was a simplistic approach to an increasingly complex world. This has changed since World War II, but had its ramifications in the kind of mission policy to be formulated. As Beidleman rightly points out, while colonial servants' aims were much more limited to politics and economics of domination,

> Missionaries invariably aimed at overall changes in the beliefs and actions of native peoples, at colonization of the heart and mind as well as body. Pursuing this sustained policy of change, missionaries demonstrated a more radically and morally intense commitment to rule than political administrators or businessmen. While missionaries deliberated about results of their policies, in their repeated protestations that they pursued only sacred ends, they underrated the impact of their deeds (Beidleman 1982:6).

Mission communities share many similarities, yet there is a variety of types of missionaries and mission communities. Ideally a study should include a variety of comparisons, but that will have to be the point of another study. In order to understand the policies of the Church of the Brethren missionaries, a brief comment is warranted about the social milieu from which they originated. A short history follows later.

The Church of the Brethren is one of five branches of a group of Anabaptists who fled Germany in the 18th century because of religious persecution. They were for the most part Calvinistic in their view of the work ethic. Most settled in farming valleys where they became prosperous farmers and entrepreneurs in farm-related business. They were Congregationalists in most matters, with final authority vested in the Annual Conference. They were not opposed to education but were skeptical of it. The Brethren were reluctant to conform too closely with the modern world, including involvement with government. These values were carried by the missionaries in their approach to their work in converting the Nigerians.

Before leaving the consideration of theory, a comment must be made concerning conversion. It is safe to say without fear of contradiction that the Christian group that does not have a program of evangelism and missions does not grow. They are fortunate to retain their membership at a normal replacement rate. One calls to mind such groups as the Amish, Reformed Mennonites, and German Baptist Brethren. On the other hand, various Pentecostal groups are experiencing rapid growth. One may conclude that missions are essential to the health of the parent body. Missions furnish a motivation for stewardship.

In the case of the Church of the Brethren mission program, local congregations and districts were asked to undertake the financial and prayer support of one or more missionaries. Regular correspondence was encouraged, and while on furlough the missionaries would visit the congregation to make the contact personal. Many times the plight of the "heathen" in Africa was presented in such soul-tugging services that the money forthcoming was adequate to maintain not only the mission budget but the entire home operation of the General Mission Board as well.

It is interesting to note that since the decline in foreign mission emphasis there has been a decline in the membership in the United States. While a seminary student in the early '50's, this writer recalls a professor of Christian ethics and sociology of religion commenting on the fact that the time would come when the Church of the Brethren would have to merge its mission and social service programs under one administrative board. Originally there was only the General Mission Board that administered the program of the denomination; mission was the major emphasis. Another was Christian education. With the coming of World War II and a large program to administer conscientious objectors, the Brethren Service emphasis came into being. Some of the philosophical and program lines began to merge, and in time what is now known as a World Ministries Commission was created to administer missions, disaster relief, and other social programs.

The interests of younger administrators were away from missions, a fact which will be discussed later. In addition, the older people with substantial resources began to reduce their support of the General Board. There is an ongoing debate as to the role of missions. During the period of emphasis on missions, from 1923-1973, over 300 missionaries served and six million dollars was spent in Nigeria alone. Now about 18 missionaries remain, and the estimated annual budget is $250,000 for Nigeria.

Reasons for this policy change will be discussed more fully later.

Conversion is the main goal of a mission program. The object is to convert one to a new religious orientation, and is nothing more than a program of resocialization. As Beidleman indicates, conversion is simply an alteration of the personality and social change (1982:16). Missionaries justify these changes as being the Will of God. They may accept the fact that conversion is a change in the individual, and some may recognize the larger social ramifications but are not overly concerned. Most Western missionaries accepted their role as the religious partner of colonialism's so-called civilizing mission. This fact was obvious from the recruiting speeches given on college campuses by those seeking dedicated young people for foreign mission service. A. F. Baldwin, herself a missionary for the Church of the Brethren (1944-62) and now a professor at the Church of the Brethren affiliated Manchester College in Indiana, commented in her doctoral dissertation on this attitude as seen in Austin Phelps of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation:

> The privileges of such strategic wisdom should lead us to look on the United States as first and foremost the chosen seat of enterprise for world conversion. Forecasting the future of Christianity as statesmen forecast the destiny of nations, we must believe that it will be what the future of this country is to be. As goes America, so goes the world, in all that is vital to its moral welfare (1973:2-3).

Referring to an earlier work by R. Allen, Educational Principles and Missionary Methods (1919), Beidleman notes the concept of negativism and paternalism which missionaries must have of the host culture in order to be able to justify their ethnocentrism (1982:11). As mentioned earlier, the more inferior by inference the missionary can make the African culture, the more that missionary can strike at the benevolent core of the "superior" culture and elicit an outpouring of sympathy, and, of course, money.

Since the 1960's a new sophistication has arisen in missionization. Leading schools such as Fuller Theological Seminary of Pasadena, California, have full-time faculty trained in anthropology and with mission experience presenting approaches to conversion that give recognition to the relevance of traditional culture. This unique brand of applied anthropology may well elicit the same criticisms as were once raised against "colonial anthropologists."

Although it is difficult to assess motives, one can safely assume that missionaries were seeking to build the Kingdom of God in Africa in a pure state such as was impossible in the homeland because of corrupting modernizing forces. Upon being confronted with this observation by this writer, one older missionary dismissed the notion as nonsense. Yet she supported every type of program to prevent the Nigerians under her influence from having anything to do with the outside world. She refused students the opportunity to sit entrance examinations for government schools. She wrote negative evaluations of employees who succumbed to "pleasures of the flesh" such as dancing, drinking, smoking, and fornication -- behaviors not necessarily forbidden by the traditional culture.

Of course, nudity, seeking traditional healers, and associating with non-believers also made one subject to church discipline. The Western Calvinistic background of the missionaries was clearly demonstrated by the above example, not unique among the missionaries. Conversion meant the giving up of all of these cultural elements as anti-Christian. Many of my informants raised this question: What have these cultural elements to do with religion? Obviously the missionaries themselves were not aware of the relationship between ideology and actual behavior.

There is no attempt in this brief study to exhaust all of the theoretical possibilities one could employ to analyze the missionization process. It would require psychological, social psychological, sociological and anthropological theoretical approaches, depending on the facet of the situation. That there is a need for ongoing studies of this type is obvious. From a survey of recent papers presented at professional meetings of various disciplines, it is evident that there is increasing interest in missionization studies. This is true of African Studies, Latin American Studies, sociological, anthropological, and religious meetings. At least one publication, "International Bulletin of Missionary Research," is devoted to the topic from a religious point of view. It is hoped that some new theoretical approaches to understanding the process of social and cultural change in a modernizing world may result.

METHODOLOGY

The sources for this study are listed. The archival material is located in the possession of the writer and consists of diaries, letters, reports of Harold Stover Kulp, one of the co-founders of the Church of the Brethren Mission in Nigeria. Additional materials are located at the General Offices of the Church of the Brethren in Elgin, Illinois, and at Garkida and the Kulp Bible School in Nigeria. Various aspects of the mission and some of its missionaries have been the focus of earlier studies (Helser: 1926; Bittinger: 1938, 1941; Baldwin E: 1953; Kulp H: 1954; Baldwin A: 1973; Faw: 1973; Kulp P: 1977).

The original study consists of the results and analysis of a series of interviews of informants conducted by an associate, Dr. Mamadu Kwaya Mshelbila, Vice-Principal of the Theological College of Northern Nigeria, and affiliated with Jos University. We selected a number of church leaders and educators, as well as political leaders, who were able to remember the coming of the mission to their area. Some of them were old enough to recall the beginning of the mission in 1923. All of those interviewed held their present positions largely because of the presence of the mission. These interviews were conducted in 1978-79. A preliminary report was made at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion in 1980, and a refinement of that report was made following critical comments graciously provided by colleagues in Africa and America.

In the spring of 1983, I conducted a field study in Nigeria, interviewing over 125 people who had had some of their education in schools of the Church of the Brethren Mission or who had been employed by the mission. The data requested of the informants centered on the following four questions:

> 1. What do you remember about the mission program in your community?
>
> 2. What do you perceive to be some of the major contributions made by the mission and the missionaries to your community?
>
> 3. What were the negative and/or disruptive results created by the presence of the mission and the missionaries in your community?
>
> 4. What socio-cultural changes do you attribute to the presence of the mission and the missionaries in your part of Nigeria?

The responses were in narrative form and more or less addressed the questions as they were understood by the informants. This paper attempts to analyze the responses to those questions.

The results will not be given in statistical form, but there will be an attempt to verify some of the theoretical considerations of the role of one mission as an agent of social change. Obviously there is a need for continuing refinement of these theories.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

NIGERIA

Nigeria is one of the most dynamic countries, not only on the continent of Africa, but of the developing world. Situated in West Africa between 3° - 15° E. longitude and 4° - 14° N. latitude, Nigeria contains 356,670 square miles (923,768 sq. km.). Bounded on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, on the north by the Republic of Niger, on the west by the Republic of Benin, and on the east by the Cameroon Republic, Nigeria stretches nearly 800 miles east to west and 700 miles north to south. Population estimates are between 70-100 million. The last official census of 1963 indicated 55.6 million. With an annual growth rate estimated to be at least 2.5, most estimates indicate a population of 80 million for the 1980's. Although Nigeria consists of only one-seventh of the land mass of West Africa, it contains half of its population, and a quarter of the population of the entire continent.

There are over 200 separate ethnic groups speaking as many languages. However, most of the people of Nigeria speak one or more of the major languages. These are Hausa in the northern parts above the Niger-Benue, Yoruba in the southwest, and Igbo in the southeast. Again, the Niger is roughly the divider of those two southern areas. English is the official language of politics and commerce, and is the medium of instruction in all Nigerian schools.

Topographically Nigeria consists of a narrow coastal belt rising to a plateau of 1000 feet. Most of Nigeria is a large plateau 1000-3000 feet in elevation, with several mountain ranges along its border with Cameroons. Large plains gently slope northward toward the Sahara.

The Niger River and its major tributaries, the Sokoto River in the northwest and the Benue River in the east, drain most of the northern part of the country, with the exception of the rivers that flow into Lake Chad in the northeast. Most of the south is drained by coastal rivers and the lower Niger. The Niger River has been dammed, forming Lake Kainiji which supplies electric power to most of the country. A few smaller towns use diesel generators. Only the remote areas have not yet been serviced, but this is slated for change in the near future.

The rainfall, and hence the vegetation, varies with the elevation and the influences of the two major air masses, the tropical mountain air mass (S.W. trades) and the tropical continental air mass. These shift twice to create a dry and a rainy season. Rainfall ranges from more than 100 inches in the south to less than 25 in the northeast. The rainy season lasts longer sin the south, from March to November, and gradually shortens northward. In the extreme northeast, the season is usually three months long -- June through August.

There is a severe water shortage in much of Northern Nigeria. Much of this shortage is attributable to inadequate retrieval and distribution systems. Some authorities believe that there are adequate supplies and encourage the drilling of bore holes and use of various irrigation projects. In some such areas it has been reported that the water table is lowering. Whether this is a trend or part of a cycle is not clear. This writer knows of several streams and lakes, now dry, which once flowed with ample water. The 1973 Sahelian drought appears to have been the turning point of the water problem. Rainfall appears to be lessening. Observation by local farmers and unofficial rainfall records indicate a decrease. However, the rainfall has been occurring at intervals conducive to a good crop for the past several years.

Nigerian vegetation is divided between forests and savannahs, with several types of each. The forests cover one-sixth of the country, and the remainder is in savannah. The forest ranges from coastal salt water mangrove swamps to equatorial forests. Trees are often 100 feet high and 15 feet in diameter. Most of the lumber exported comes from this region. These high trees also provide a canopy permitting secondary growth mostly of cocoa and banana trees, as well as allowing for tertiary ground crops of tubers.

The savannah is likewise subdivided into several types from south to north. The type of vegetation varies with rainfall and soil conditions. The savannah provides most of the agricultural and animal grazing area. The largest of these, known as the Guinea Savannah, is north of the forest belt. Rainfall ranges from 60 inches to 40 inches, south to north. Best described as orchard bush, with scattered trees and some woodlands, the vegetation is quite lush. Further north is the Sudan, or true savannah, characterized by thorn scrub and scattered trees. Grass is shorter and more sparse. Agriculture and herding dominate these areas in which rainfall averages from 40 inches to 25 inches.

In the extreme northeast is the scrub savannah or Sahel, with less than 25 inches of rainfall. Short scattered thorn trees and very sparse grass cover the area. Farming is limited to short growing season crops such as millet. Water is scarce; some animal grazing takes place.

Population density in Nigeria follows a similar south to north pattern with the greatest density in the south. There is a long tradition of Yoruba urban centers. These formed a base for many of Nigeria's larger cities. Ibadan, with a 1963 population of 627,380, is now estimated to have over a million (Udo 1980:17). The Yoruba are the most urbanized people in all Africa and have created a highly centralized social system. Yoruba are noted for their industriousness as farmers, traders, and artists. Other peoples in the southern part of Nigeria are the Edo speakers living on the eastern side of the lower Niger; they founded the great Benin empire. East of the Niger are the Ibo and Ibibio, who live in segmentary villages.

North of the forest in the Guinea Savannah lives the greatest density of Nigerian ethnic groups. This area is commonly referred to as the middle belt. Among the largest groups are the Nupe to the west, and the Tiv. The major ethnic groups in the true north are the Fulani-Hausa and the Kanuri. There are more than 200 ethnic groups and subgroups all struggling to realign their loyalties to the united nation of Nigeria; however, ethnic identities linger and conflicts arise.

The above mentioned groups are referred to by the Nigerians as being among the dominant and powerful. Most of the peoples in the north, particular, belonged to what are known as the minority tribes or ethnic groups; many of these were subservient to a dominant group. In the feudal type system of traditional states, most of the smaller groups were called upon to pay tribute for security, to give taxes in kind, and to become a source of slaves and servants. In the northeast of Nigeria in the traditional areas of the kingdoms of Bornu under the Kanuri and Adamawa under the Fulani, were such smaller groups as the Bura, Chibuk, Marghi, Higi, Wagga, Whona, Kilba, and Gude-Fali. Whereas the

Kanuri and Fulani had embraced Islam in the 16th and 17th centuries, these people were predominantly followers of African Traditional Religions. They lived in an area now known as Southern Borno State and Northern Gongola State.

It is into this area that three Protestant mission groups went in the second decade of the 20th century: the Danish Lutheran Church, the United Brethren (now United Methodist), and the Church of the Brethren. The first two belong to a family of missions known as the Sudan United Mission (S.U.M.). There was always a close cooperation between the S.U.M. and C.B.M. throughout the years. A fourth group, outside this study, but present in the same area, was the Roman Catholic Church. Relationships with them were cordial, if a bit strained at times.

Before one can understand why the Brethren came to Nigeria, a brief analysis of both Nigeria in its colonial setting and the Brethren may be helpful. Included will also be a brief survey of the peoples mentioned among whom the Brethren settled.

One cannot understand Western civilization outside of its value system any more than one can understand Nigerian life outside of its cultural context. Much has been written about the rise of capitalism, mercantilism, imperialism, and colonialism in Western culture. In using the term "Western," this writer refers to the European origins and the areas of the world they influenced, i.e., the Americas. Western culture, including its dominant religion, Christianity, was to confront a world whose philosophy was much different. Indeed it is interesting to note that Christianity began as an Eastern religion, but its Semetic roots were overcome by Greco-Roman concepts that would mold its "Western flavor."

Meanwhile, one of its greatest competitors, especially in Africa, Islam, coming out of the same semetic tradition, remained "Eastern." These two, coming from the same orientation, passing through opposite philosophies, meet in the 19th and 20th centuries in Africa, competing for control (Kulp:1958). But what was the nature of this

Western Christianity? How was it tied to the political and economic values of the age?

Scholars have long traced the association between the Protestant Reformation and the rise of capitalism. Together with the industrial revolution there occurred the greatest technological development the world had experienced. The social result was a new economy known as laissez-faire capitalism. There were several philosophical factors that influenced this development. Growing out of the rise of science was a new optimism, particularly in "progress." The thought was that given no interference, things would work out in their own ordained way; this optimism extended to the areas of history and economics in particular. Adam Smith is noted for the concept that

> declared economic liberty to be an axiomatic principle of the natural order, regulating economic life; and behind it he saw at work the invisible hand which through economic self-interest fulfills a providential plan (Boer 1978:10).

As in nature, so in economics; without interference there will be a balance created so that all may benefit. God was to rule as he did over nature, without human interference, punishing and rewarding according to his plans. Individualism replaced the cooperation that human societies had spent centuries to achieve in the previous economic patterns of pastoralism and farming. This was a return to searching after scarce resources. Each one was a small group to themselves -- a return to the nuclear family of the band societies from the extended network of kinship that had evolved, and which still exists in Nigeria. The major values of self discipline and self reliance of the individual were characteristic of the 19th century. Competition became a survival of the fit, a fact which led to ruthlessness and social problems seemingly inherent in a capitalistic society. Sociologically the result was a new class structure. The old structure had been that of nobility and peasant; the new was that of the rich and the poor (Boer 1979:12) Boer goes on to quote Disraeli, who commented that

> there were two nations between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy; who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts and feelings as if they were dwellers in different zones, or... of different planets, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws (1979:12).

Social stratification is not alien to human societies, but drastic change in the system and the extremes which it took in the 19th century created a social upheaval. A new form of poverty emerged known as pauperism. It was more devastating than anything imaginable. "Large sections of society were degraded and deprived of tolerable conditions" (Boer 1979:13). More than anything else, this fact of poverty created by capitalism gave voice to its critics, among whom was Karl Marx. As a result, other problems emerged: poor housing and sanitation, alcoholism, poor health, low life expectancy, growth of slums, and exploitation of the weaker by the powerful. The times were ripe for those calling for a change. While Marx and Engles demanded changes in the social system, the Christian church called for revival and evangelism as a means of changing individual lives. There was a series of awakenings or revivals in the 19th century in both Britain and the United States.

Interesting to note is the fact that the evangelical movement had a great effect on the middle class. The religious movement of the middle class, Wesleyism, later Methodism, was instrumental in bringing about a literal philosophy. The mixture of religion and economics led to a non-conformism that became a form of Christian conscience. A new ethical position required a concern for the poverty class. Although supportive of laissez-faire capitalism, they believed in sharing its contributions, good or bad. The middle class was accountable for many of the social problems, but they were willing to seek solutions (Boer 1979:22). Evangelism began to become involved in social efforts which were aimed at the lower class. Out of this grew the Salvation Army movement, opposition to the slave trade, homes for vagrants, soup kitchens, and many other philanthropic and humanitarian programs (Boer 1979:31).

Many of those administered to were trained as lay people in the evangelical movement. Social effort and religion were tied together; there was a responsibility to repair, not to replace, an unjust system. The poor could not be expected to be concerned with salvation. Having their physical needs met was to open the way for reception to the gospel. As an example of this approach we note the successful program of the Salvation Army.

In the United States, Dwight L. Moody was to emerge as the leading evangelist of the 19th century. He preached a message of personal salvation, but also promoted the causes of the poor. Working on the social conscience of the rich, he was able to promote such programs as the Y.M.C.A. The Moody Bible Institute is his legacy for training many evangelists; the supporting funds, however, came from the wealthy (Boer 1979:37).

The purpose of evangelism was that a social order can become just and humanitarian only when its people are. To focus on a system has no meaning. To evangelize a nation, however, will result in the desired change. The emphasis is on the individual. To evangelize is synonymous with mission -- to send out those who will spread the gospel.

Soon the horizons increased from home to abroad, especially as more representatives of Western Civilization were moving into "heathen" lands. The foreign missionary movement was launched out of the evangelical revivals of Europe and America. It should be noted that this was also a time of phenomenal church growth in Europe and especially in America. The conclusion may be that without mission the church falters.

COLONIALISM IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

Assuming an acceptance of the definition of colonialism as presented earlier, an examination of its impact in Nigeria is necessary. Many writers, African and Western, have focused on economic factors as the major impetus for colonialism. There is no need to challenge this fact; however, the implications range beyond the economic into all aspects of the social order. The industrial cities of Europe and America needed raw materials and markets in order to survive. To ensure these, European nations began to establish their empires at the expense of the non-Western world.

Following the abolishment of the slave trade, Europe turned to legitimate trade. As a result of the slave trade, most of the contacts made in Africa were on the coasts. One of the first to penetrate the interior of Nigeria for the purpose of trade was George Goldie. An atheist who, to his credit, did not use religion to justify his actions, Goldie established the United Africa Company in 1879, thus gaining a monopoly. He negotiated treaties with many local chiefs and eventually won the right to a charter by the British government which gave him powers of jurisdiction in the area. The company was known as the Royal Niger Company.

Goldie was ruthless and employed all means to enhance his economic empire. All who opposed him suffered, European and American alike. Eventually the charter was revoked by the British Foreign Office. Northern Nigeria was declared a British protectorate on January 1, 1900, with Lugard as High Commissioner, making it equal with Southern Nigeria. With this, colonialism expanded to include a formal political aspect resulting in a colonial political economic approach.

Lugard's famous method of governing was the "dual mandate." This combined the elements of laissez-faire economics and the civilizing mission of Britain to Africa (Boer 1979:57). Now the British government, through the colonial office, was in the exploitation business; the dual mandate was to advance Africa and develop resources for Britain. Flora Shaw, Lugard's wife, wrote in her book, A Tropical Dependency, concerning the purpose of the dual mandate:

> to promote prosperity by the peaceful organization of the country under just laws, the maintenance of order, and the opening of communication with the outer world (1905:495).

To this end Lugard proceeded to improve the infrastructure of the country. A railway soon connected Kano and Lagos; major roads appeared, although they were made of lateritic clay and were of limited value in the rainy season. Cotton, groundnuts, and tin became the major items of trade; roads and railways aided in their movement as well as in the transporting of troops required to maintain the Pax Britannica necessary to maximize the trade.

To Lugard's credit from the point of view of the evangelicals in Britain, he eradicated the slave trade in Northern Nigeria from the Moslem raiders. He also refused to permit alcohol to be traded because of the Islamic teaching of total abstinence. Lugard himself had high praise for his efforts; he saw himself responsible for

> ...a higher civilization brought into contact with barbarism, and with the inevitable result... to extend the rule of justice and liberty, to protect traders, settlers, and missions and to check anarchy and bloodshed.... For under no other rule -- be it of his own... or of aliens -- does the African enjoy such a measure of freedom and of impartial justice, or a more sympathetic treatment, and for that reason I am a profound believer in the British Empire and its mission in Africa (Boer 1979:67,68).

Lugard has been depicted as opposed to Christian missionaries because as part of his method of indirect rule he promised to the muslim chiefs that his government would not interfere with their religion. this statement would be used by those who succeeded Lugard, for they, more than he, were anti-mission. He did not promise to exclude missionaries from Muslim areas, only that government would not interfere with the Muslim religion. In fact, one of his most trusted advisers was Walter Miller, a Church Missionary Society missionary.

Lugard permitted Christian missionaries in Muslim areas where the local chiefs concurred. There was little fear that Muslims would convert but many of the people the Muslim chiefs controlled were at best nominal missionaries to go among the non-Muslim populations (Boer 1979:70).

Several reasons may be advanced for British administrators opposing missionaries. Some had a respect and admiration for both traditional religion and Islam and they wanted no interference. Secondly, some administrators felt that trouble would result when Christian missions confronted the existing religious practices. Perhaps a third reason involved a fear that missionaries would be rivals for the respect and authority of the government in their areas of influence.

COMING OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO NORTHERN NIGERIA

Although the missionary movement in Africa began with the Portuguese contact with the coasts of Africa in the fifteenth century, there was no lasting result. The year 1775 is considered the beginning of modern missions in Africa, according to Kendall (1978:16). Efforts to end the slave trade, stories of the exploits of explorers to strange new lands, the American independence, and an emphasis on humanism all contributed to setting the stage for the beginning of mission societies. William Carey formed the Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Amongst the Heathen in 1792. In 1795 the London Missionary society and the Religious Tract Society were formed (Boer 1979:82).

The first missions under the Church Missionary Society (C.N.S.)arrived in Sierra Leone, West Africa, in 1804 (Kendall 1978:18). The World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910 provided the first statistics for missionaries in Africa. There were 4,534 Protestant and 6,312 Roman Catholic, one-third coming from Britain (Kendall 1978:19). World-wide, there were some twenty thousand missionaries (Boer 1979:83). The number of missionaries in Africa continued to increase; by 1940 there were 22,000 and by 1976 more than 36,000 (Kendall 1978:19).

Since that time the numbers of missionaries have grown more slowly because of various indigenization programs, yet the membership in African Churches is growing at the fastest rate of any church in the world. It is estimated that by the year 2000 AD, Africa will be the most Christianized region in the world. There is a decline in numbers of missionaries from the long-established societies and an increase from smaller evangelical groups. Dr. Philip A. Potter, former General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, noted that 60% of the missionaries in the world came from the United States (Kendall 1978:25).

Early missionary activity in Northern Nigeria was carried out by the C.M.S. as early as 1889. This group had been active in Southern Nigeria since the mid-century. All of West Africa including Nigeria was under the Bishop at Freetown, Sierra Leone. Bishop Crowther was the first African to become an Anglican Bishop (1864). But his post was opposed by a group of evangelical Anglicans and they formed their own faction in 1889 called the Sudan Party. Crowther employed African missionaries, a practice opposed by the British missionaries. This schism, however, was short-lived, and by 1891 it had disbanded. But the group was able to penetrate the Kano area for future mission work. With the Arrival of Dr. Miller, the C.M.S. became well established in Zaria (Crampton 1978:30-35).

The Baptists and the Methodists had established programs in the southern part of Northern Nigeria in 1855 and 1886 respectively. But in the north a group under the leadership of Bingham persuaded Lugard to allow the opening of the Sudan Interior Mission (S.I.M.) in 1900. The Sudan United Mission was established by Karl Kumm in 1904. Both of these were interdenominational evangelical missions (Crampton 1978:46). When Lugard left in 1906, the missionaries expressed thanks for his efforts at permitting them a foothold.

These three mission groups represented the early evangelical Christian presence in Northern Nigeria during the first two decades of the century. The Roman Catholics were also establishing themselves. It was into this situation that a fourth group joined in 1923 -- the Church of the Brethren.

CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN BACKGROUND

A brief summary of the Church of the Brethren origins and beliefs will help in understanding the actions of the missionaries. The Church of the Brethren was born out of the radical reformation movement of the 17th century. Its founders were part of the Anabaptist dissenters who were persecuted because they failed to accept any of the recognized groups, Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist. Their beliefs were similar to those of the Mennonites. They believed in adult or believers' baptism, no force in religion, and living in peace with all men. They refused military service and had to flee several times from place to place in Europe as they were persecuted for their beliefs.

They fled to Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1723 and began to organize themselves as a church. Known first as German Baptist brethren, they were popularly called Tunkers or Dunkers. Many were skilled artisans and farmers. They migrated into the fertile farming areas of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Later they joined those who moved west across Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, eventually reaching the northwest.

Their polity is one of strong congregational autonomy, yet the official rule of the church comes from decisions made by delegates from each congregation meeting in an annual conference. After suffering several divisions, the church remains small compared to other denominations. At present there are about 170,000,000 members. Yet this group sent 300 missionaries at a cost of six million dollars to Nigeria between 1923 and 1973. This was in addition to sponsoring mission work in India, China, Ecuador, and ambitious relief programs such as the Heifer project and a program of religious education. Finally, the denomination has a relationship with five colleges, a university, and a theological seminary, as well as with a hospital.

The Church of the Brethren was caught up in the evangelical revivals of the 18th century. Membership grew; there was enthusiasm for missions at home and abroad. The church needed missions to keep alive its purpose; missions needed the church to supply staff and resources. However, external circumstances were to strain this symbiotic relationship beginning in 1963, eventually having an effect on the mission program.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries there was an emphasis within evangelical protestantism to embark on a world-wide program of foreign missions. Colonialism had provided access to many part of the world not previously available to missionization. As stated before, Western Christianity saw its responsibility in the civilizing mission of the non-Western world, a fact that was obvious from the lectures and sermons that were being given in churches and on college campuses.

The central message to all who would hear was the evangelization of the world. The Student Volunteer Movement, active on many college campuses, set as their recruiting appeal for missionaries this challenge: "The Evangelization of the World in This Generation" (Baldwin 1973:32). Responding to this call were Albert Helser, a student at Manchester College in Indiana, and H. Stover Kulp at Juniata College in Pennsylvania. They both had graduate degrees in education. (The colleges had a strong emphasis on Bible education, since they were Church-affiliated institutions, and the Brethren did not require theological training for ordination at that time.)

There was no mission work in Africa on the part of the Brethren, but there were programs in India and China. The Church of the Brethren, with fewer than 100,000 adult members, was not in a strong financial position to expand its program. However, Helser and Kulp were sent on an investigating tour in 1922, arriving in Nigeria as the year was closing. After consulting with British colonial officials and representatives of other mission societies in Lagos, the two men reached Biu, in southwestern Biorno, in the spring of 1923.

Earlier, the Phelps-Stokes Foundation had released a report identifying the Borno region as having potential for educational and consequently Christian opportunities. Although the area was under the domination of Muslim ruling classes, the majority of the peoples in the southern part of the region were identified as pagans (animists). The ruling class in the vicinity of Biu were called Pabir and were Moslem. Their language was essentially the same as that of the majority of the people they ruled, which were the Bura. (Pabir has some Kanuri influences indicating the origin of the ruling class.)

The Pabir rulers and the District Officer opposed the missionaries' presence on the grounds that it violated the conditions of indirect rule as formulated by Lord Lugard. One condition was that the religion of the local region would be respected by the British. However, the majority of the Bura were not Moslem. The team moved farther east, off the Biu Plateau, to the east bank of the Hawal River; the Hawal is a tributary of the Gongola River, which flows into the Benue and on to the Niger. There, at a place called Garkida, on the east bank of the Hawal, on March 17, 1923, the first mission program was begun by the Brethren.

According to one informant, the white people were accepted there in part because of the Africans' curiosity of such strangers. The Bura term given to these missionaries was zul, meaning a people of unknown origin who came out of the sea. Otherwise, all whites in Nigeria are known by the Hausa term bature (singular) or turawa (plural), meaning people from Ture (Europe). Another reason for the acceptance of Helser and Kulp was that they quickly learned the language, and would visit and joke with the Bura as equals.

The Nigerians were impressed by the strangers and the new material culture they brought. However, they were cautious, and the local elders adopted a wait-and-see position to ascertain the kind of people the missionaries really were. Mission work progressed slowly because there was pressure from some sources to have the newcomers removed. Having failed to remove the intruders, however, the Kanuri in Maiduguri were successful in redrawing the eastern boundary of Borno so that Garkida became a part of Adamawa Province. Adamawa's ruling peoples were the Fulani, who did not have as tight a control over the various ethnic groups in their area as did the Kanuri in Borno.

Meanwhile, additional missionaries arrived and other centers were opened (see map): Dille (1927), Lassa (1929), Gulak (1947), Mubi (1954), Uba (1956), and Mbororo (1956) in Adamawa. Permission was finally given to work on the Biu Plateau at Marama (1930), Wandali (1948), Shaffa (1950), and Waka (1952). Other work was begun at Chibuk (1940) farther north in Borno.

The area of mission influence covered approximately 12,000 to 15,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 500,000. The major ethnic groups were the Bura, Pabir, Margi, Chibuk, Gude-Fali, Higi, and Whona. Education was a major emphasis of the mission program, for it was seen as a key to developing local leaders as well as spreading the gospel. CRI's, or Classes in Religious Instruction, were established throughout the area. These were the forerunners of an educational system that eventually included 40 primary schools, a secondary school, a teacher training college, and a Bible School with an agricultural component. The latter was established to train evangelists to be more self-sufficient. Rural education was a part of the program in order to increase the quantity and the quality of life. A medical program of two major hospitals, a leprosarium, maternity clinics, dispensaries, and first aid stations was initiated.

The primary reason for the coming of the mission program -- the spread of Christianity -- had a slow beginning, but the church has emerged as one of the most rapidly growing in Nigeria. In 1981 the 75th congregation was organized in Maiduguri. Ironic to note is the fact that Maiduguri was the source of the earlier religious and political opposition to the mission. And many of the people who are now in leadership positions in the modern state of Borno received their education in the Educational system of the mission.

MISSION BEGINNINGS

The informants interviewed had similar views concerning the origins of the mission program in their respective areas. The missionaries were viewed as sincere, dedicated, and hard working. It was known that they had left a much better life style to come to Africa. The co-founders of the Church of the Brethren Mission were Albert Helser and H. Stover Kulp. Helser was a graduate of Manchester College in Indiana, and also studied in London. He possessed a charasmatic personality and became caught up in the evangelical fervor of his day -- a fervor which included an interest in foreign missions.

Helser's contribution to the beginning of the mission is well documented in his book In Sunny Nigeria. Unfortunately, his conception of what the mission was to become was not accepted by his co-workers. After much tension, letter writing to the Home Board, and prayer, the missionaries on the field requested Helser's removal. He went on to join the S.I.M. and became a very influential member of their administration. The full story of this early dissention in the young mission group is interesting and will be commented upon elsewhere.

The other member of the original team remained with the mission as its field secretary until his retirement in 1963, a service of forty years. A brief biography is therefore included.

Harold Stover Kulp was born September 29, 1894, on a farm in East Coventry Township in Northern Chester County, Pennsylvania, near Pottstown. His parents, Aaron and Naomi Tyson Kulp, were farmers and members of the Coventry Church of the Brethren, one of the earliest congregations established by the Brethren after they immigrated from Germany to Germantown. The Kulp (Kolb) family were traditionally Mennonite, having arrived in Pennsylvania from Germany at the beginning of the 18th century. Thus the commitment to Christianity was a strong factor in the life of Stover Kulp.

He was educated in the local public schools and graduated from West Chester State Normal School (now West

Chester University) in 1912 as a teacher. After three years of teaching at the Carter Junior Republic School near Easton, Pennsylvania, he entered Juniata College, graduating in 1918. Juniata was to award him the Honorary Doctor of Divinity Degree in 1948. It was while he was a student at Juniata that Kulp came in contact with the Student Volunteer Movement, which was to be the source which provided the Church of the Brethren with interest in Africa (Baldwin 1973:32).

Following his years at Juniata, Kulp served as pastor in two churches. One of these was in Philadelphia, and while there he attended the Philadelphia School of Bible and the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received his M.A. in Education in 1921. Later education included study in Linguistics at the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London in 1926, and a year of graduate work at the Hartfore Theological Seminary's Kennedy School of Missions in 1931; in the latter he began pursuing a doctoral program that he was never to finish (Kulp:personal notes).

Although this paper is not intended to be a biography of Dr. Kulp or a detailed history of the Church of the Brethren in Nigeria, the two are intertwined and inseparable components of the analysis of expatriate activity and their impact on Nigerians.

In addition to his missionary work, which included the duties of Executive Field Secretary, he found time to be the editor of Listen, the publication of the International Committee for Christian Literature for Africa; Chairman of the Board of Governors of Hillcrest School for Missionary Children; President of the Christian Council of Nigeria, of which he was a founding member; Chairman of the United Evangelistic Campaign of Northern Nigeria which brought Billy Graham to Nigeria. He received honors and commendations from people and organizations both in and out of Nigeria.

The Student volunteer Movement chose him as one of the 17 outstanding Christian missionaries in their version of "Who is Who - Answering Distant Calls" in 1942. As previously mentioned, Juniata College awarded him an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree in 1948, and the

Royal Africa Society of Great Britain made him a medalist and Honorary Life Member in 1954. Other accolades came from Nigerian officials at his retirement and death.

So respected was he by the people of Nigeria that they paid him the tribute of an honorary traditional funeral.

The following account is excerpted from a document "Beginnings at Garkidda" written by Stover Kulp for the Missionary Education Department of the Church of the Brethren in 1954:

> Missions are results of prayer and true worship. So Christ commanded 'Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest to send forth laborers into His harvest (Matt. 9:38). Our mission in Africa was born in prayer. Believing that the dark events of the First World War were a judgment calling the Church to a fuller obedience to Christ's command to be his world-wide witness, a group of students in several of our colleges were led definitely to pray that our Church open a mission in Africa.... Although a number of areas were considered, the answer finally came through the missionary explorer, Dr. Karl Kumm, who was one of the founders of the Sudan United Mission.... Having made explorations in that area, he often mentioned that in NOrtheastern Nigeria there was a group of some half a million or more non-Moslem people who were a challenging field for missionary effort.
>
> The church decided to begin mission work in Nigeria, and the first missionaries were approved at Annual Conference held at Winona Lake, Indiana, in June 1922. Appointed were Rev. and Mrs. Albert D. Helser of Ohio and Rev. and Mrs. H. Stover Kulp of Pennsylvania. It was planned that the men should go ahead and locate a definite area and be joined later by their wives. The men sailed from New York on the S.S. Aquatania on October 13, 1922. Mrs. Kulp spent a year at Livingstone

> College, London, in a medical course for lay-missionaries going to tropical Africa. Mrs. Helser, a registered nurse, remained in Chicago. After getting equipment in England, we proceeded to Nigeria, arriving at Lagos in the last week of December, 1922 (Kulp 1954:1).

The Phelps-Stokes Fund had undertaken a study of West and South Africa in 1920-21 at the request of several American mission groups in order to survey the educational needs of Africa. As the report states, the term of study was "the educational needs of Africa, especially those pertaining to hygienic, economic, social and religious condition of the native people" (Baldwin 1973:34).

Upon arriving in Lagos, Kulp and Helser had copies of the report to give to government officials. This was their introduction to Nigerian colonial servants. In fact, Kulp and Helser used one paragraph of the report to support their reason for coming to Nigeria:

> In north-eastern Nigeria... there is a demand for a teacher-training center that shall become a stronghold for the dissemination of Christian ideals where Mohammedanism is pending.... As the government cannot now undertake this important responsibility, it is further agreed that Christian missions should undertake the task (Kulp 1968:63).

A lagos paper, The Nigerian-Pioneer for January 5, 1923, noted:

> You perhaps already know that partly as an outcome of the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission, which visited Nigeria in 1920-21, there have arrived in Lagos on their way to Bornu two American gentlemen, Messrs. Helser and Kulp, as an investigation commission to Nigeria under the auspices of the General Mission Board of the Church of the Brethren to found an industrial institution among the pagans of the north (Baldwin 1973:34).

Consultations were held with Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of Nigeria, who gave them permission to carry on with their search for a location. After a stop at Kaduna, the capital of Northern Nigeria, to consult with the Lieutenant Governor, who had just returned from a tour in the Bornu area, he called to the attention of Helser and Kulp that the Biu district in southern Bornu Province had a large non-Moslem population of over 200,000. Jos was to be point of departure for Bornu, so the team left Kaduna, stopping at Zaria to confer with Dr. Walter Miller. Dr. Miller was a Hausa scholar and served under the Church (of England) Missionary Society (C.M.S.). A brief summary of Miller's work and the early tension between missionary Nigerian colonial administration and indigenous political and social structure is analyzed by Salamone (Salamone 1976:6-13).

Up to this point, the Americans had been well received and encouraged. There has always been the criticism on the part of indigenous peoples that no matter how hard Western missionaries tried to disassociate themselves from other expatriates, especially government and commercial groups, they, in reality, could not. Missionaries were dependent on other expatriate communities. Although indigenous peoples know the difference between individuals, there was the normal grouping and labeling process that occurs in every social context. So, all expatriates in Nigeria came to be known as Europeans, that is, non-African.

The American team left Zaria and arrived in Jos. After making arrangements for carriers to take their boxes, engaging a cook and a steward, they began the trip to the East toward Biu, with major stops at Bauchi and Gombe. On February 12, nineteen days after leaving Jos, they arrived at Biu. Today the trip can be made by auto in under six hours. Biu is on a plateau nearly 2000 feet in elevation, making it quite a comfortable place to live. It is the center of the Bura speaking people. The ruling class, known as Pabirs, speak a dialect of Bura that has been influenced by Kanuri. It is believed that once Kanuri raiders came into the area and took over the political structure of the Bura but married Bura women; hence the diffusion. Although most of the Bura practiced traditional religion, the Pabirs were Moslem.

Major Edgar, the District Officer of Biu, granted the team hospitality. But upon making a request to begin work, they ran into opposition from the Emir of Biu, a Moslem. Edgar, not wishing to create a problem between himself and the Emir, refused permission. This was in keeping with the policy of indirect rule. Naturally the missionaries interpreted this act of the District Officer as favoring Islam over Christianity.

An appeal was made to the Resident of Bornu Province, Mr. Palmer, who later became Lieutenant Governor of Northern Nigeria. To do this, the eight-day trip to Maiduguri had to be made. There, the Resident backed the District Officer's decision. Kulp wrote:

> It happened that the resident, although an able administrator, belonged to the group who opposed missions on the grounds of policy. That is, he favored all people coming under the Moslem emirs and felt that the coming of Christian missions was not at that time a desirable step in the development of the country. He took the objection of the local chief at Biu as sufficient reason for advising against our application being granted. We had, however, the written statement of the Governor that it was not the government policy to prohibit missions even though the paramount chief was a Moslem if the mass of the people was still pagan (Kulp 1968:70).

An appeal was made by Kulp to the Governor by telegram, but the Resident gave permission for their work if they moved farther east across the Hawal River. This took them off the Biu Plateau where the weather was less pleasant, and to the edge of the Bura population. The place was Garkida.

The preceding documents the problem of indirect rule. It also shows that appeals to higher authority could bring change in that policy. This is commented on by Salamone (Salamone 1976:13). However, this author earlier states that there was a close relationship among expatriates, even if they were not all engaged in the same program. This mutual reinforcement was used when it suited a particular purpose. And Kulp used it even as on earlier occasions he wrote of his aversion to government officials. But the Nigerians did not miss the point. The policy of indirect rule was not without its exceptions in practice.

Upon returning to Biu, Kulp and Helser prepared to leave for Garkida, 30 miles east of Biu, arriving on the third of March at the place that was to mark the beginning of the Church of the Brethren Mission in Nigeria. Ground was broken for the first building on March 17th which is regarded as Founders' Day of the Mission. As Kulp stated:

> On that day, often kneeling in humble, grateful prayer, ground was broken for our first mission residence at Garkida. Our building, like Solomon's Temple, was built without the sound of a hammer. Walls were built of mud by African builders, often their own method. Mud was dug and mixed to the right consistency with water and bits of cut grass.... Natural tools and local materials were used for the first buildings. But we were busily engaged in other matters. Language study had started: a language which we white men had never written or spoken. Medical work was also begun. At each clinic, there was always an opportunity for a short gospel message and prayer (Kulp 1954:3-4).

In April, Helser became ill with malaria and his condition was serious enough to require his being hospitalized. The choice was overland to Maiduguri in the North, or Lokoja to the South at the confluence of the Benue and Niger Rivers. After a difficult trip to Neuman on the Benue, they took a barge to Lokoja. It was August before Helser recovered. Then, since their wives were due to arrive in October, they remained in Lokoja until their arrival. With the wives was the first car -- a gift from the Philadelphia church that Kulp had pastored briefly.

While in Lagos, Kulp paid a visit to Governor Clifford who inquired as to their progress and gave them his blessing. However, Major Edgar was still trying to get the missionaries out of his area. He was sending reports to his superiors that the Americans' lives were endangered. He even signed the Governor's name to an order of eviction that greeted the Kulps and Helsers on their arrival back in Garkida in December. But Edgar's undoing was the fact that earlier he had written a letter to friends in Lagos that "Pax Britannica" had come to the Biu area and there had been no murders for many years. An appeal by missionaries to the Governor caused Major Edgar to be called before his superiors for an explanation. As a result, permission was given by the Governor to remain and continue the work (Kulp 1954:5-6).

The joy of reunion was shortlived, for in June of 1924, Ruth Royer Kulp died of dysentery along with their infant son who had been born prematurely. Kulp returned to his work with a new vigor, if a heavy heart. The rest of 1924 and 1925 were spent in evangelistic work in the district around Garkida.

Some persons within Bornu Province were still opposed to the missionaries being in the area and so in the closing days of 1924 the Bornu boundary was moved to the east of the Hawal River, putting Garkida in Adamawa Province. The missionaries were then forbidden to tour in Bornu.

During the year of 1924, four other couples had arrived, one of the men being a doctor. When 1925 came to a close, it was time for Kulp and the Helsers to return to American for furlough. In the first two short years, the Mission had established a hospital, Sunday School classes, regular church services, district evangelistic work, and the completion of the "First Primer in Bura" which Kulp had prepared. He was working on a "Second Reader" and selected Old Testament passages in Bura.

With eleven missionaries there were administrative and personnel matters to be attended to and reports to be made to the Home Board. Kulp was elected field chairman as well as Elder-in-Charge (Presiding Bishop).

In all of this, Kulp was sensitive to the people he had come to serve. He wrote in his diary:

> One cannot laugh at their customs and traditions and superstitions. We must put ourselves in their position. How would an American community treat the bearers of a new religion? That they tolerate us is much to their credit. Should we expect any better treatment from them than we would give to teachers of a new religion who came to our town?

Kulp returned to Nigeria in 1926 after visits in America and a short linguistics course at the University of London where he met and married Christina Masterton. The new Mrs. Kulp had served a tour in Rhodesia as missionary for the United Free Church of Scotland. Permission had been given, meanwhile, for the Church of the Brethren to open new work at Dille, among the Marghi people. These were linguistically related to the Bura. Kulp had come in contact with the Marghi on his first trip to Maiduguri in 1923. And so the Kulps began the program at Dille, then moving in 1929 to near Lassa, where this writer was born.

The first four converts were baptised in 1927. Two have died, one reverted to Islam and one is still active in the Church. Conversion progressed slowly. From 1927 to 1952 there were 1,313 members, with eight organized churches and 57 preaching points (Baldwin 1953:54). Since the post World War period growth had been rapid.

After much effort, the first permission to go into Bornu occurred when Marama was opened in 1930, south of Biu; Wandali and Shaffa, to the west between Biu and Garkida, were opened in 1950. Each of these had become a center of evangelistic, educational, and medical activity. Also in 1952 Waka School was opened, and finally the Teacher Training Centre, one of the original motives for settling in the Biu area, was established. Other areas were opened, among them Chibuk (1940), Gulak (1947), Mubi (1954), Uba (1956), and Mbororo (1956) (Baldwin 1973:37-38).

Medical work was first begun Albert Helser and Ruth Kulp who were medical laymen in extensive tropical first aid. However, they were more properly para-medics. When Dr. Burke arrived in 1924, nearly 50 patients a month were being treated at Garkida. By 1951 an average of 1,320 people were being seen monthly by the medical staff. The Ruth Royer Memorial Hospital at Garkida became a modern facility, as did the Bashore Memorial Hospital at Lassa. There was also a Leprosarium at Garkida and large dispensaries at each station (Baldwin 1973:39-40).

One of the earliest proposals for mission work was the establishment of schools. Schools have played a dominant part in the program. The plan was for each station to have a school, and in this, the Church of the Brethren was like most missions. Education in one form or another has been associated with Christianity from earliest times. Christianity is a proselytizing religion which requires a certain level of informed clergy and laity. Some groups have made schools an integral part of their program through a parochial school system. Others have acted as sponsors or proprietors of schools while not owning them. The Church of the Brethren always worked in cooperation with the Nigerian government's Ministry of Education. There were, as mentioned previously, schools called CRI's (Classes of Religious Instruction) which were started in each village where possible. These became the base for a later primary system. There was also a system of adult education classes separate from those for the children.

The schools followed approved syllabi and received grants from the government to subsidize salaries and construct buildings. A system of fees helped provide operating funds. In the early years teachers were mainly missionaries. In 1938, the first graduating class from the Garkida Teacher Training School became the nucleus of Nigerian teachers. This school was moved to Waka near Biu in 1952 and has continued providing teachers for nearly 40 mission operated primary schools as well as for schools operated by other missions and the local government schools. There is also a secondary school at Waka where this author served as administrator and teacher from 1958-1965.

The students were at first separated on the basis of sex. Because there was a feeling among the Nigerians at first that girls should not be educated, there were far more boys in attendance. The schools at Waka soon became co-educational, however, and thus they have remained. The Secondary School was a co-educational boarding school with separate dormitories, the second such school in Northern Nigeria and the only one in the Northeast.

School enrollment rose from an average of 600 a year from 1930-1942, to 1,240 a year from 1948-1952. Attendance continued to increase until 1969 when the mission relinquished its program to the Nigerian government (Baldwin 1973:41).

In addition to hygiene and education, the Church of the Brethren was dedicated to improving agriculture. This may have been in part because of the rural background that marked much of the history of the church or to the fact that Kulp was raised on a farm as were others of the mission staff. Nevertheless, new gardening and farming methods were encouraged. As a means of their own subsistence, the missionaries all had gardens, small orchards, and some kept a few pigs, cattle, and chickens. If lay-evangelists could become self-sufficient in food production with advanced farming techniques, including the use of oxen-drawn ploughs, proper fertilizers and insecticides, they may have more time to devote to evangelism. To this end, the mission began such a program at the institution that became known as the Kulp Bible School. Here education in agriculture is as important as Bible lessons, and the program has been very successful.

Mention has already been made about the difficulties in the early days with the ruling Muslim Pabir and the Biu District Officer. Similar difficulties occurred in attempts to expand the mission into other parts of the Bornu Province and into Adamawa Province. This area now occupies parts of Borno and Gongola States respectively.

In the Chibuk area the local population (Kibuku) welcomed the missionaries. However, as was the case in Biu, the local District Head (Lawan), who was Muslim, opposed the intrusion of these outsiders. Lawan Jabba, as he was known, forbade the local children to attend the mission school; he called it a school to train thieves. The Kibuku people were largely non-Muslim and sided with the missionaries. Pressure was applied sin Maiduguri to have the Lawan replaced, and Lawan Maigana, the new Head, although a Muslim, was friendly to the missionaries mainly because they had been at least partly responsible for his appointment.

The Marghi and Higi areas presented another type of problem. The area of the Yedseram River Valley had been ravished for years by slave raiders. This situation is documented in the various studies made by James Vaughan of the Marghi and surrounding peoples over a period of twenty years (Vaughan 1964). The local Muslim leadership was in general in opposition to the missionaries coming into their area, whereas the local, largely non-Muslim population welcomed the missionaries because they were perceived as a means to counteract the Muslim oppression. One informant recalling the beginning of the mission program at Dille in 1927 said that the District Head, Iyawa Huyyn, called the laborers working for the mission bebbe dawada, or children of dogs. This is strong abuse, and a curse. He also called the missionaries kilajo nasara'en, meaning white blacksmiths. Among the Marghi the blacksmith clan were of the lowest social class and its members were held in low status.

The missionaries moved from Dille to a village nearby called Lassa in 1929 because the water supply at Dille was not sufficient to support a mission program. At Lassa the village head, Ptil Nyamdu, invited the missionaries by saying, "We want to live with you if you can live with us." Kulp's reply was, "Yes, we can" (Mshelbila 1979).

In Adamawa Province the same opposition to missionaries was mounted by the Fulani Muslim ruling class. Again, the combined coalition of the local non-Muslim people and the access the missionaries had to the colonial officials made it possible for the work to expand. This fact has never been appreciated by the Muslim groups, and they used whatever opportunity they could to harass the mission program, the missionaries, and the Nigerian Christians. The missionaries, of course, attributed their successes in the mission program to the divine will of God.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE MISSION AS AN AGENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

There is a growing literature showing the influences of Christian missions in Africa. One of these, a study by the Nigerian historian Ayandale (1966) notes among the contributions of missions that the most significant were in the fields of education and medicine. This same idea was confirmed by the informants consulted for this study.

The phenomenal growth of the Church has been noted. Many Nigerians were impressed with the willingness of the missionaries to leave the relative comforts of America to come to Nigeria to preach the Christian message. Growth at first was slow. The language and the culture had to be learned. None of the early missionaries had any training in anthropology, although several developed an amateur interest and facility. Kulp made some contribution to ethnographic data by gathering much the same kinds of materials that missionaries are inclined to collect; his was in preparation for a doctoral dissertation that was never completed because much of the material was confiscated and destroyed by the United States Immigration in 1943. Kulp's notes were in the local language and could not be read by the officials; thus they were destroyed as a result of the war paranoia.

Desmond Bittinger, an early missionary, continued formal education in anthropology after leaving Nigeria, and has taught and written briefly of his experiences. The major contribution by Kulp and his wife Christina was in creating a written form of Bura and Margi. Traditional Africa employs the oral tradition to pass on their culture from one generation to the next. Christianity, however, is a literate religion and its success depended upon a literate people. Thus, the first work of the mission was to create a written language and a system of schools.

Linguistic training was poor among the missionaries, but they were able to print simple grammars, lexicon hymnals, and the New Testament, as well as some sections of the Old Testament. Now there is an extensive use of the lingua franca, Hausa, which has an extensive Christian literature. English is now the language of all schooling in Nigeria. Many African leaders of the Independence movement attest to the fact that mission schools were the only educational opportunities open to them.

As a direct result of the educational and medical programs of the Church of the Brethren mission in Nigeria, many of the key leadership positions in both Borno and Gongola States are held by Nigerians. In addition there are Nigerians serving in key positions at the national level. When the new states were created there was a need for each state's educated citizens to fill many of the positions in government services. The Muslims had traditionally opposed educating their youth, especially in mission schools, until the post-independence era. Thus the greatest majority of qualified Nigerians in Borno and Gongola States were those from the mission areas. These were the same local non-Muslim people who had supported the mission program and now their "reward" was that they were in positions of dominance over the very same people who had once dominated them. In the words of one informant, "Were it not for Dr. Kulp and the C.B.M., we would still be in slavery."

Much the same events can be traced in the medical program sponsored by the mission. With the introduction of modern scientific medicine, the health of the local peoples has improved. Infant mortality has decreased because of the availability of trained mid-wives and maternity clinics. Epidemics of diseases such as spinal meningitis have been curtailed. Life saving operations are performed daily in the two hospitals and in the leprosarium. In addition, the leprosarium has gained a wide reputation for its work in rehabilitation. Nearly every village of size that had a school or a church also had a trained dispenser.

The Nigerian government has launched a progressive public health program. It is attempting to place a hospital in population clusters of 250,000. Reaching out from this center are satellite clinics, dispensaries, and first aid points. Mobile units go out and make the contacts between the center and periphery. In the long run it will cost less to have a solid public health program than to try to provide for the medical needs of a population without it. The program is hindered by the drop in oil exports, creating a need to readjust the federal budget. All programs are affected by this adjustment. The General Hospital at Garkida, formerly the Ruth Royer Kulp Memorial Hospital, is one of the aforementioned centers, a part of the Lafiya (Wellness) Program which is a cooperative venture of the Nigerian government, the West German government, the Church of the Brethren, and its Nigerian counterpart, the Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa. Not only has general health improved, but many employment opportunities have been created through these medical programs.

Another direct contribution of the Church of the Brethren mission was in the area of agriculture. The Brethren in America have rural origins and many of its early leaders were raised on the farm, as was Dr. Kulp. From the early beginnings in Nigeria the missionaries had gardens, and a frequent response to inquiries from America as to needs on the field was "seeds." The early educational program incorporated agriculture into the curriculum. Later the Nigerian government would do likewise. Missionaries with agricultural skills were recruited.

The Brethren for most of their history had a tradition of the free ministry or tent-making industry. Ministers were to be self-supporting and attend to the religious needs of the community. Obviously there was more than one minister in the larger communities; the concept of one pastor was of later origin. In Nigeria the same pattern was encouraged. If an evangelist could improve his gardening techniques and produce more food as well as cash crops with less energy, the more time he would have to attend to evangelism. The result was the establishment of a training center which combined the training of church leadership with improved agricultural methods. This program known as the Kulp Bible School is under control of the Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa. It is a post-primary program and has gained the cooperation of government agricultural ministries.

An example of government support is the speech by the Lamido (paramount chief) of Adamawa at the 50th anniversary of the mission in 1973. He praised the agricultural contribution of the mission in particular and the work of the mission in general. This praise from a muslim leader of this stature is noteworthy. He also attended the annual fair of Kulp Bible School (an event no longer held).

Some of the graduates of K.B.S. have gone on to higher education in theology and to other vocations. Others have remained serving the church. One direct influence of the agricultural emphasis of the mission has been to upgrade the diet of the Nigerians as well as to increase the production of cash crops. Once it was not fashionable for a person who had some education to return to farming, but now there are some very successful Nigerian farmers, a fact which has increased the status of that occupation.

The major contributions of the early missionaries were on the areas of evangelism, language translation, primary education, medical programs, and some agricultural work. The second wave of missionaries was, with the exception of a few specialists, concerned with church growth and with evangelism. World War II created a new climate in Nigeria as it had around the world; many Nigerians had left their homeland and had come in contact with a world largely unknown to them. The mystique of the white man was shattered, and a desire to learn the skills necessary to survive in the new world was created. Education was emphasized to a greater degree than ever before. One returning serviceman informed me that he insisted on his children doing their homework even though he could barely read. He had been out in the world and knew his children would have to know more than he did in order to survive.

The government began to increase opportunities in education and there was an attempt to counteract the classical forms of education with programs designed to meet future manpower needs. As a result, new centers of technology were opened. With the advent of more and more modern scientific education, many questions about the traditional way of life began to emerge -- questions which could not help but create new problems.

The last group of missionaries began to address themselves to the needs of the newly independent Nigeria. Their interactions were with a new generation of Nigerian leadership. There were the expected cleavages, not only between missionary generations, but Nigerians as well. Each side found themselves allied, generation against generation. The older missionaries did not handle the threat of the newer missionaries very well. The arena for this conflict shifted from the mission meetings to the church meetings. The politics involved was for missionaries to work behind the scenes of their Nigerian counterparts. The rationale was that the Nigerians needed the experience of dealing with leadership issues and the missionaries were to be advisers. If the rationale was flawed, the motives were even more so. But the Nigerians are a gracious and forgiving people. They weighed the positive factors of the presence of the missionaries with the negative and even from the perspective of history they speak kindly, if guardedly, about the influence of the mission.

The founders of the mission program were committed to the idea that schools were essential to evangelism. One of the first programs initiated was, as mentioned earlier, a type of formal education. Thus, as early as 1924 a school was opened at Garkida. There were actually two separate schools, one for girls and one for boys, and although classwork was co-educational, all other activities were carried on separately. Missionaries were in charge of all activities. The curriculum consisted of reading in the vernacular, English, and Bible Knowledge. There was also instruction in carpentry, smithing, agriculture, and weaving. In addition, village classes in religious instruction (CRI's) were established. This pattern was to be repeated at all mission stations (Banu, 1973:152).

There was soon a need to train Nigerian teachers and a Teacher Training School opened in Garkida in 1932; the first class graduated in 1938. The language of instruction was Hausa (Banu, 1973:154). However, these schools were closed in 1942; several reasons were given, but the basic problem was that of the mission and the missionaries. The war years saw a shortage of support from home just when opportunities for expansion were occurring in evangelism. There was a division between those favoring evangelism as a priority and those favoring education. The evangelists "won," a fact leading to the creation of animosities on the part of some of the Nigerians. Some of the Nigerian teachers left to take up secular work, others to teach in local government-schools. Many defected to Islam. All of these events occurred during Kulp's absence. On his return from furlough in 1942, he worked to reopen the schools; by 1944 the major ones had opened, but it was 1945 before the rift began to heal.

A new element was introduced with the reopening of schools. The curriculum was expanded, but the schools were now managed by a local school board. Most head teachers were Nigerian, but the Manager of the school program was a missionary until the 1960's. By 1968, when the schools were turned over to Local Education Authorities, there were over 40 elementary schools. The CRI's remained in control of the mission; they had been the major factor in the rapid expansion of the church in the decades of the '60's and '70's, and they continue to be the means of outreach in the villages for the Nigerian Church. Thus the relationship between evangelism and education espoused by Kulp had indeed proven advantageous to the Church.

That this should be true is no surprise to social scientists who understand the role of education as an agent of change; it simply is further evidence of the phenomena. Additional schools were opened on a post-primary level in 1947 and 1949 at Garkida. In the 1950's a complex of schools was opened at Waka, including a Girls' School, Women's School, Teacher Training College, and a Secondary School. Today the Teacher Training College and the Science Secondary School have a combined enrollment of nearly 5,000 and are maintained by the Borno State Education Ministry.

The social changes brought about by education are enormous, especially to the people of Borno and Gongola

States; these were the beneficiaries of the program in a direct sense. The value to the church has been noted. As one recipient states in a recent thesis:

> Through the Brethren mission schools, many people in the E.Y.N. district had acquired an education which introduced them to the outside world. The people of E.Y.N. district had learned the skills of other people and could participate in the social, economic, and political activities in Nigeria and outside the country. This participation had been recognized by other tribes in Nigeria which became aware that the ethnic tribes influenced by the Brethren mission now constituted a social force that could no longer be ignored in Borno and Gongola States. Today the influence of this social force is being felt at the federal level (Balami, 1982:133).

Mission schools provided the background for people in the area to quality for higher education. By 1968 the first doctorate was earned -- by the son of an early convert. Upon visiting both parent and son, this writer was reminded that the people were well aware of the influence of education and the changes that had come about. An earlier study (1975) investigated the role of education in political change in Nigeria. Now, nearly ten years later, this conclusion was still being reinforced. Additionally, a former Secondary student of this writer became in 1972 the first medical doctor which this area had produced. Since then many more have received medical degrees, law degrees, and various masters' and doctoral degrees. The disciplines they represent include a wide variety: health problems; teaching at all levels -- primary, secondary, and higher education in a wide assortment of areas, academic and technological; administrative positions in the private and public sectors. The first Northern Nigerian to quality as an international airline pilot came from Garkida. On leaving Nigeria for the last time, Dr. Kulp was to be flown by this pilot whose father was once a worker in the Kulp household and later an evangelist (Balami, 1982:136).

At present all of the local schools, hospitals, governmental agencies, and private companies depend upon people who have been directly or indirectly influenced by the institutions established by the mission. These include hospitals, schools, agricultural and technical training institutions as well as the entire leadership of the church. The consensus of opinions received by recent research on the part of this writer is that "without the presence of the Brethren Mission these achievements would not have been possible" (Balami, 1982:135). Balami goes on to note that at a farewell speech for one of the few remaining missionaries who was retiring this consensus was reflected:

> This contribution [of the mission] has imprinted us in history of modern education in Nigeria permanently. We have been brought into the community of intellectuals and I am proud to say many of Waka's old students are school administrators in Borno and Gongola States' ministries of education (1982:137).

The quality of life of the local people has also improved. the quality and quantity of medical care, improved farming techniques, skills in the building trades, improvement in diet, housing, and all aspects of life -- all are attributable to the influence of the mission. that which the mission could not do, it encouraged the people and the government to accomplish. In fact, at times the government was put to shame and thus was urged to double its efforts to provide services that were needed, often in cooperation with the mission. Rivalry increased between the Christian and the Moslem communities, and so the latter began to compete in providing services. This rivalry only improved conditions for the local people.

On the recent trip to the area, this writer was able to observe the evidences of material change. Roads were improved, upgraded from gravel to macadam. Few beasts of burden were in evidence. The number of those who own cars, motorcycles, and bicycles had increased to the point of causing traffic congestion. The markets and stores were selling goods from all over the world; in particular, radios, television sets, and cameras were noted.

Nudity was rarely seen. People appeared to be healthy. There was an abundance of food for sale, although prices were high. Homes were improved, with fewer and fewer being constructed of mud and thatch. The main medium for building today is concrete block, plastered and painted, with metal roofing. Moslem-style furniture is popular.

Although in all areas the quality of material life appears to have improved, some concern was expressed over the quality of the non-material aspects of life. the nation, some feel, has been spoiled by the overabundance of oil-related money which has led to accusations of fraud. The ethical questions are being discussed in the papers and on the media. Concern was raised about the influences of Western values and the possibility of their changing the traditional ones. Such concerns are evidences of the impact of cultural change. Is the conclusion to be made that the Mission was responsible for these rising problems? To the extent that the Mission can claim the responsibility for introducing Western culture via Christianity to the area, to that extent it must also assume some of the responsibility for the negative aspects of change as well.

Influence is difficult to measure empirically, however. Observation by this writer over the past 25 years and testimony by others, both Nigerian and expatriate, tend to agree that any outside force invading a traditional area will bring about more changes than will be caused by any other phenomenon. Countless social scientists attest to this fact in their research. The acculturation that results is inevitable. The present study is an attempt to further refine the concepts of cultural change by examining one such agent -- an expatriate missionary community.

CRITICISMS OF THE MISSION

It is always easier to be critical, especially in retrospect, than to be sensitive to situations as they are happening. All of the informants were taking a historical perspective when making their analyses of some of the negative aspects they perceived regarding the mission and the missionaries.

As expected, there were criticisms about individual missionaries. The fact of personality conflicts is to be expected, but some of the missionaries did not learn to appreciate the Nigerian people and their culture. Although they were there to save souls and do the Lord's work, they carried with them all of the ethnocentrisms one might expect, as well as the sterotypes and prejudices typical of many Americans. Each category of missionaries was viewed as having attitudes of superiority and paternalism, although some to a greater extent than others. One might even suspect some of latent racism.

Some missionaries were impatient and severe in their comments about Nigerians who would not readily leave their present way of life for the new one proposed by the servants of God. Missionaries not well liked were given labels of ridicule and became targets of retaliation. Some were robbed and cheated. There were other opportunities to express hostility from time to time. One illustration involves an "accident" with a borrowed motor cycle. The driver of the car causing the accident was a local government official who had been badly treated by the owner of the motor cycle. Although this was a case of mistaken identity, the government official would not apologize even after being found guilty and fined in court.

On occasion household help were accused of stealing supplies or even money by their employers. Once accused, then often such behavior did take place. Most missionaries did not understand the way in which Nigerians saw their relationship with those who employed them to work in the house. To the missionary the Nigerians were only employees, but to the Nigerians, being asked to work inside a home meant that they were a part of the household and entitled to help themselves to an occasional measure of sugar, tea, flour, or whatever was available. The few missionaries who understood this relationship said nothing and would order a little extra of some supplies to compensate for this situation.

The Nigerians' own code prevented stealing of anything in large quantities, but taking a small amount of what was seen as a large supply is part of the culture. There is even the precedent in the Old Testament of allowing poor people to go into the fields after harvest to salvage what may have been overlooked.

The early missionaries were criticized by the informants for not responding to opportunities for growth when they were available. Instead of sharing their problems of limited resources with the Nigerians, the missionaries often overtaxed the resources they had. The lack of communication was seen as an indication that the missionaries did not have sufficient confidence in the abilities of the Nigerians. Following the example of colonialism, the mission trained Africans at only minimal entry level positions. There was not sufficient early training for church leadership.

The missionaries were perceived to do everything for themselves as though the day of judgment were at hand. Indeed, many felt this way: "Work for the night is coming" was an often-sung hymn reflecting the Protestant work ethic of their own American culture. By contrast, Africans, who have a different cultural approach to work and time, were thought to be lazy. Further, Nigerian advice and counsel were not sought or utilized as much as they might have been. One informant recollected the time he had asked Dr. Kulp why he did not keep a better record of things he had done. Kulp's reported reply was, "God has a record of what I have done." The informant then replied, "Our children will need the stories sometime." Kulp responded jokingly, "God is interested in work and not in writing our own history." The informant followed up by saying, "You might be right in the eyes of God, but you will not be helping the future of Nigeria." This conversation is an excellent illustration of some of the problems that existed between the perceptions of the missionaries and those of the Nigerians. However, unknown to the Nigerians, Kulp left quite a good record of his activities in personal diaries and letters home to family and friends as well as official reports to the home office. He must have had some sense of history, because he kept carbon copies of these reports.

The early and even later groups of missionaries felt that the decisions about the mission program were their own responsibility and that they were accountable to God and the home office, but only incidentally to the Nigerians. One might suspect the motivations of some of the missionaries. It would appear that they wanted to create the Utopian Kingdom of God in Nigeria that had not materialized in America. There was a chance to create the ideal Christian community. One of the early and older missionaries, upon being approached with this theory, dismissed it as not worthy of comment. Only the more reason to suspect it. Yet many actions supported this. Missionaries made periodic evaluations of Nigerians under their supervision who were employed by the mission. Included in the evaluation were notations on whether the employee was faithful in attendance at religious services, owned a hymnbook and a Bible, tithed, had good work habits and attitudes, or had ever been disciplined by the church committee for drinking, fornicating, dancing, visiting a native doctor or participating in any cultural practices held to be inconsistent with the Christian life. One such comment made by a single female missionary was that "________ argues with his wife." (It is known for a fact by this writer that many missionary husbands argued with their wives, but were never subjected to such evaluations.)

In a final illustration, one person was accused of adultery but it was never proven. Nevertheless, he was suspended for six months from his job. No consideration was made by the missionary to ensure that the family of this person had other means of support. There were sufficient instances of behavior of this type to drive some converts and potential converts to Islam or to a return to traditional religion.

Tensions over mission policy increased with the second group of missionaries. As noted earlier, many of these were evangelists who had been recruited in response to the need to expand the evangelistic program. However, the problem of limited financial resources remained. During the time Kulp was on leave in 1942-43, the missionaries decided to close the educational program to make more resources available for evangelism. These tensions over mission priorities would remain for some time.

This was a time when some of the first Nigerians were given training and employment as primary teachers. The schools were under mission control and the medium of instruction was the local language, along with Hausa. English was taught as a subject. Many of these early teachers left and found employment with other mission groups or with government schools which were beginning to expand to local communities. Some of them had become Christian and now converted to Islam. This was a tragic loss of leadership at a time when it was needed.

Upon his return to Nigeria in 1943, Kulp restored the schools at the urging of the Nigerians, but it would be 1945 before the program was back on track. (Fifty Years in Lardin Gabas:154)

The missionaries had developed a skeptical attitude toward the colonial government. Although for the most part the colonial officials at the higher levels were cooperative, there was always a suspicion of those at the lower level because of the experiences which the early missionaries had had with them. As an Anabaptist group, the Church of the Brethren has had a long history of being wary of government. The informants felt there should have been more attempts at accommodation with the various levels of government, particularly the lower levels.

Several of the informants were quite bitter. They felt that the missionaries did not share enough about their history to help the Nigerians understand their position on government. After all, there were many parallels with the peoples among whom they worked and their suppressors. More important, however, was the fact that missionaries in charge of the school system would not permit the graduates to take government school entrance examinations for advanced schooling. The missionaries felt that the Nigerians owed some loyalty to the mission and should be content to work for those who had educated them. The missionaries also feared that they would lose their converts to Islam or worse, to secularism. Several informants now in substantial positions in state government felt that they might now be in federal positions had they been allowed at an earlier date to join government agencies. As it was, it was not until the mission began to defer to the government its schools in the late '60's and early '70's that the opportunity came for the mission-trained Nigerians to join government agencies.

Another issue was the reluctance of missionaries to support Nigerians who wanted to enter politics. As aliens, the missionaries were forbidden by law to do so, but they seldom encouraged the Nigerians to become involved. Thus, when independence came to Nigeria, many of the local people were at a political disadvantage to gain a place in the changing political scene. This was especially the case when the nation was divided into regions. Not until states were created and local governments expanded was there an opportunity for the mission-educated people to play a role in the decision-making that affected their lives.

A major criticism leveled against the missionaries was in the way they handled some very important social customs. These were the issues of polygamy, social beer drinking, and dancing.

The missionaries never had a solution to the issue of polygamy. Since men were held responsible for the system, women who were involved in a polygamus situation were not penalized if they wished to become church members. They were held to be innocent victims of an evil system. Women in polygamous households could be baptised, but their husbands could not. At first men tried to discourage their women and children from attending church and the schools. They probably saw the results as breaking down their traditional areas of authority. Men were encouraged to put away their other wives and to keep the first one only, if they wished to be baptized. Those men who did not do this would be "members at the gate," allowed to worship but not to partake of the sacraments, to hold office, or to vote. For a program that sought to free people from bondage, this practice only created alienation and confusion. The missionaries spoke of the sanctity of marriage and family on the one hand, while they advocated divorce on the other.

The situation was further aggrevated by the arrival of a missionary who was a trained anthropologist. He defied the church and baptized some polygamous men. His rationale was that the rules of membership of the church were more demanding than confession of faith required in the scripture to enter the kingdom of heaven. The church leaders requested his removal. This was unfortunate, because as a trained linguist he was correcting many errors in the language work of earlier missionaries. The debate over the issue of polygamy is still not over, nor will it be until several generations have passed. Other church groups of a syncristic and nativistic type have emerged who do permit polygamy, thus merging faith and culture.

There is a trend toward leniency on the part of the Nigerian Church, although its leadership is divided. In private conversation, some reveal that they are determined to follow the tradition passed on by the missionaries. Yet others realize the confrontation may have a negative impact. There are men, some of them high educated, who have taken a second wife after becoming Christian. These men have not been excommunicated, but neither are they asked to become part of the church leadership. Pastors are dedicating babies of a second marriage; they do not perform the wedding, but will pray a blessing if asked to do so.

Several problems are involved here, one of them pertaining to the role of women. They find their highest role achievement as mothers. In the second place, there are few opportunities for women to be financially independent of men, although this is gradually changing as women are going to school and emerging in the professions. Thus, in time an economic independence for women may negate the necessity for them all to be married, as this is no longer a necessity in the Western world. Thirdly, women accept, but do not like, the practice of polygamy. They recognize traditional values that put pressure on men to take additional wives, values which include prestige, politics, and social consideration.

Most of the early converts could see no real hardship in the demands of the new faith and so became baptized. They saw little conflict and felt they did not have to give up any traditions to become Christian. They saw, too, the advantages in accepting Christianity: employment opportunity and protection from the traditional ruling classes. Others saw leadership opportunities in a new community which they could not have in the old one. However, when the missionaries began to impose Western christian morality on conditions of membership, some Nigerians reverted to their former religion while others became Muslim.

A second problem the missionaries could not deal with adequately was social drinking, which, in African society, is an important part of the culture. Corn beer has great cultural significance in Nigeria; it is considered a food, is used symbolically in ritual and is enjoyed in social intercourse. The Brethren have always officially endorsed temperance in all things and total abstinence in those things which were seen as harmful. They often forgot their own early culture when beer was a part of their Germanic heritage. But they were influenced by the abolitionists of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The problem of drinking became serious when a mission employee was caught drinking. He was then subject to church discipline. Part of the discipline may have resulted in temporary or permanent loss of employment if he had been working for the mission. In recent years there has been less concern with drinking since the brewing of modern beer makes the issue of religion moot.

In the early years, missionaries were pastors and elders of the church, and held the power of both church discipline and secular employment. Such power has become abused. Pastors are taking it upon themselves to intervene in non-church matters, bringing them into the church where they may pass judgment. Following are two illustrations from my informants. One man was threatened to be called in to church council and be removed from his leadership role because he wanted to give his daughter permission to marry a Moslem who had already taken her as a concubine and fathered two children. The pastor was trying to make a case in an area not of any business of the church. The father drank, but was not criticized for that; the daughter was not a member of the church and so could not be disciplines; and furthermore, daughters of prominent Christians (including a retired pastor) had married Moslems with no pressures being applied. The only conclusion was that it was a personal problem and that the pastor was abusing his position to gain an upper hand.

In another case, a pastor was forced to resign by the church council who silenced his preaching because he supported his daughter's right not to marry her betrothed. The father offered to return the bride payment and call off the engagement and the wedding, but the fiancee did not agree and he took his case to sympathetic members of the church council which included some relatives who were retired pastors and who had retained their power.

Although these cases do not differ radically from some missionary behavior, one does not feel that the missionaries meant such behavior to be a part of their legacy. The present church must accept full responsibility for such actions. This is indeed an interesting situation in that the missionaries came from a nation where separation of church and state was strictly held. Yet they would deny any "kingdom of God" motives nor would they find this action inconsistent. The Nigerians, having no such conflicts, could not understand why the missionaries could not distinguish between faith and culture. For example, the missionaries knew that drinking corn beer was associated with the traditional religions and this provided another reason to oppose it. In the thinking of the missionaries, a new religion demanded a new life style. They were not aware that the christianity they were proposing was not free from Western cultural values.

A similar attitude was struck when it came to dancing and the use of traditional music. Since these were also associated with the rituals of the past, they were to be discarded. Consequently there was no use of musical instruments and the Nigerians were forced to sing poor translations of Western hymns. (Nigerian musical notation is based on a five tone scale without the two half-notes used in Western music. The Nigerian scale takes into consideration the tonal aspect of the African language. Thus, the translations did not always come out in the way the missionaries planned.) Several Nigerians have become hymn writers by using the Western scale. Recently a merger of old and new musical styles has emerged partly because of the influence of popular music. Many new forms of African music which blend the styles of West Africa, the Caribbean, and America are emerging, among them high life, reggae, and variations of rock and disco. Southern Nigerian Christians who have not had such negative feelings about music have introduced new forms which are being adapted by other church groups. Women's choirs are emerging, using gourds and clay pots as instruments. These are traditionally women's tools and are not associated with instruments of traditional music. This is a good example of dynamic, positive changes and adaptations being made.

The middle group of missionaries found themselves in disagreement with the priorities of the earlier group, as illustrated previously. The older missionaries often felt threatened by the newer ones. At the same time more Nigerians were being trained for positions of leadership. A new form of politics began to emerge. The missionary factions would urge Nigerians sympathetic to them to take sides in issues of policy and program. The missionaries could then sit back and allow the Nigerians to debate and argue. If one side lost, the Nigerians would take the blame; if one side won, the missionaries would take the credit. Unfortunately, the cleavages were along the various ethnic lines of people that were in the mission field. Particularly strained at times were the cleavages between the Bura and the Marghi. True, this is a problem which Nigeria faces nationally, but the missionaries had an opportunity to teach the message of peace and reconciliation that is an important doctrine to the church in America. Many Nigerians have been surprised to learn that one of the major doctrines of the Church of the Brethren is peace. However, the Brethren most often associated this emphasis with its opposite, war, and not with interpersonal or inter-group conflicts. To some of the informants, this lack of emphasis on the personal level was another weakness, a lost opportunity.

The Nigerians could not understand the policy that gave various mission societies territorial rights. This was a policy worked out between the mission societies and the colonial government. It was meant to reduce competition and friction among mission groups. An unforeseen weakness was that of placing the urban centers in those territorial areas. As Nigerians became more educated and as the urban centers began to modernize, there was a migration to the towns and cities. Stranger quarters or wards increased to form a type of ghetto. For newcomers to the cities, it was frightening enough to be away from the protection of the ancestral land, but not to have the church one was accustomed to created further alienation.

Since the Church of the Brethren Mission was a relatively new group in Nigeria and they were working in an area that did not have any large urban centers, they had to form alliances with other mission groups who were in the urban regions. The type of denominational separateness and doctrinal differences in America made it difficult for the Brethren to deal with the issue. There was a Nigerian Christian Council to which Dr. Kulp was elected first president. There was also an attempt at forming a Christian Church of Northern Nigeria, but neither of these met the needs outlined above. The newly independent churches agreed to allow the urban centers to be open to all groups. This permitted the Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa to open congregations in Maiduguri, Yola, and Jos, the capitals of Borno, Gongola, and Plateau States. Other congregations are planned for cities where the people from the E.Y.N. area have gone.

The informants were critical of the approach of the mission to leadership training, particularly in the area of church administration. Teacher education, however, was encouraged, and until the C.B.M. could establish their own college they sent students to colleges operated by other missions. Attempts had been made for some pastoral and evangelistic training, but not on the same academic level as that of teacher education. Men and a few women were also encouraged to become nurses and dispensers, occupations which required formal training. Why the same level of training was not provided for that which was the primary purpose of the mission is not at first apparent. But when one remembers that few contemporaries of the early missionaries had any theological training beyond college Bible courses, and that Kulp and Helser had been trained in education, the situation is more clearly understood. In addition, the Brethren tradition of the tent-making ministry as mentioned earlier also sheds light on the problem. In fact, it has been only within the time period of the third generation of missionaries that formal churchmanship training has been available.

Several informants among the church leaders were very angry with this lack of training. They admitted to having discussed this among themselves, and came to the conclusion that the missionaries feared that their own positions would be filled with Nigerians, and so did not provide the training which would bring this about. In fact, one missionary remarked that if he would have to serve under Nigerians, he would not return to the field. He did not return, and the reason is not known.

There was also a problem of formal training. Nigerians came to expect the mission to give them the same opportunities to advance and to go to further training as were given to their government counterparts. Those employed in the kulp Bible School are on an equal pay scale as are other employees of the church and mission. But opportunities for the expected advanced education are not possible with the limited resources available to the church and mission. This limitation included the making available of machine (motorcycle) and car loans. Therefore some leaders are joining government agencies, but others, to their credit, continue to serve the church. In fact, they may be able to do more for the church. For example, nearly 2,000 people attend church each Sunday in the Maiduguri Church, many of them government workers. The average offering is between $1,500 and $2,000 a Sunday.

In connection with the leadership issues is a criticism over the program of pastoral placement. A policy developed that was different from that of placing teachers. In order to reduce ethnic tensions in the educational program, the mission assigned teachers of one ethnic group to teach in a school outside their ethnic areas. A Bura would teach in a Margi school, and so on. Although this was upsetting to the family and kinship of the teacher, there was little choice but to comply if one wanted employment. Such assignments were possible because the language of instruction was Hausa and then English. This policy reduced school politics and introduced a new element of social change into the community.

But such a policy was not followed when placing pastors or evangelistic workers. It was felt that a person of the same ethnic group, speaking the same language and knowing the people would be of great advantage to church work. One result has been the ethnic cleavages in the church mentioned earlier which permits political activity. Attempts at democratic representation at district meetings often became centers where various groups would try to dominate.

The Nigerians are relatively poor and the missionaries did not encourage stewardship. They chose instead to exercise control and paternalism by paying the costs. It was then -- almost too late -- that stewardship was emphasized. One result of this low level of local economic self-sufficiency was that pastors and church workers were unpaid or poorly paid. On the other hand, teachers were paid according to a government salary scale which was paid in part or whole by the government. The mission was the manager and proprietor of the schools for the government. The church in America was not able to do likewise for the expanding church program. The result was that teachers had more money, could build nicer homes, possess more material goods, and thus have more prestige in the community than did the churchmen. This was true even in the cases where a pastor had become educated on a level comparative with a teacher. This fact discouraged young people from considering church-related occupations. Quite often the candidates for church vocations were those who could not be accepted into higher education programs.

A few churches were large enough and wealthy enough to support a highly educated pastor. The result was jealousy among congregations and churchmen. The older church leadership who were less well educated and less well paid often maneuvered the younger men out of central decision-making committees or employed the old ploy of labeling them too radical or not sufficiently experienced.

The missionaries were never criticized for having a more materialistic life style, and most of the missionaries would not think they lived lavishly. In comparison with their American counterparts they were not wealthy. But Nigerians expect those who hold high positions to live in a more materialistic manner; this is the case in their own society. So if a pastor was to have respect in the community he had to demonstrate a higher standard of living and not be dedicated to the simple life. This fact was difficult for the missionaries to appreciate, again showing a lack of understanding about the Nigerian culture.

This writer heard comments from missionaries and former missionaries who had returned for a visit years after their tours of service had ended. They were critical of the automobiles, nice furniture, homes, appliances (especially TV) acquired by many Nigerians. One commented that their housing is better than that which the missionaries had had. A Nigerian, hearing this criticism, commented on the level of material comfort he had seen in the lives of American pastors and churchworkers. He could not understand how, amidst this wealth, the church in America could say that its programs were in financial difficulties.

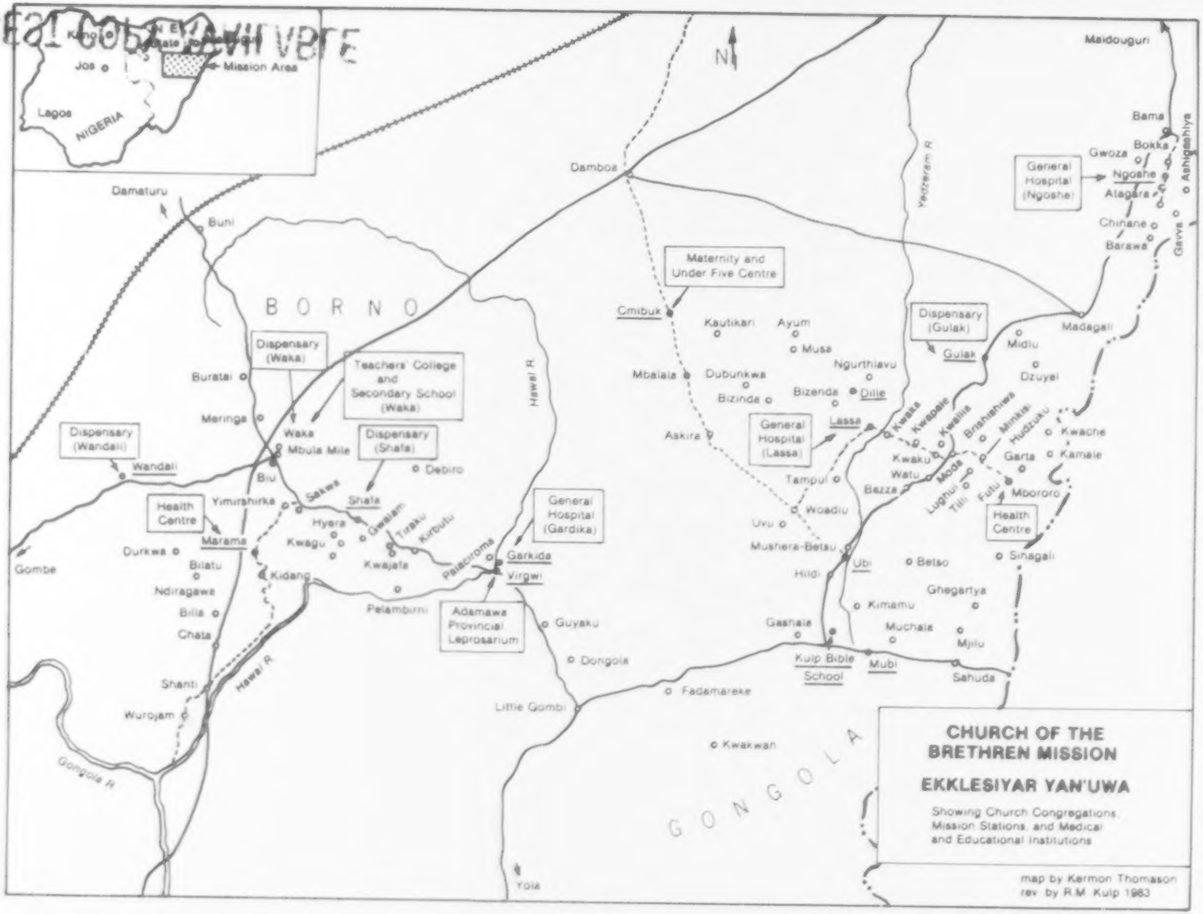
CONCLUSION

One obvious factor emerged during the course of this study and that was communication -- or the lack of it. Both sides talk to each other, but neither side is really listening and hearing the message of the other.

The remarkable finding this writer discovered was the level of articulation of the Nigerian response. Most of the Nigerians are gracious and appreciative of the role of the missionary. Although critical, they were careful not to condemn. Even when being critical, they were always trying to suggest a reason for the missionary position that would in part excuse or justify the action.

There is still a chance for a strong mutual relationship between the Ekklesiyar Yan'uwa and the Church of the Brethren. The writer attended one meeting at which these issues were discussed, and some meaningful groundwork was laid. To paraphrase a statement of the United States Peace Corps, Nigeria may not greatly benefit from the presence of the Church of the Brethren Mission, but it will never be the same. Conditions arising out of such contacts need continuous research, analysis, and evaluation, not only by Western scholars, but particularly Nigerian ones. Fortunately this is beginning to happen and that fact portends new insight into the study of missiology from various disciplinary approaches.

APPENDIX I


CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN MISSION
EKKLESIYAR YAN'UWA
Showing Church Congregations, Mission Stations, and Medical and Educational Institutions
map by Kermon Thomason
rev. by R.M. Kulp 1983
Kano
Jos
Lagos
NIGERIA
Mission Area
N
BORNO
GONGOLA
Maidouguri
Bama
Bokka
Gwoza
Ashigashiya
General Hospital (Ngoshe)
Ngoshe
Atagara
Chinane
Barawa
Gavva
Damboa
Damaturu
Buni
Maternity and Under Five Centre
Cmibuk
Kautikari
Ayum
Musa
Ngurthlavu
Mbalala
Dubunkwa
Bizinda
Bizenda
Dille
Askira
General Hospital (Lassa)
Lassa
Yedzeram R.
Dispensary (Gulak)
Gulak
Madagali
Midlu
Dzuyel
Kwaka
Kwapale
Kwallia
Brishishiwa
Minkisi
Hudzuku
Kwache
Kamale
Kwaku
Watu
Moda
Garta
Bazza
Lughui
Tilli
Futu
Mbororo
Tampul
Woadiu
Uvu
Mushera-Betsu
Health Centre
Sinagali
Hildi
Ubi
Betso
Ghegartya
Kimamu
Gashala
Muchala
Mjilu
Kulp Bible School
Mubi
Sahuda
Fadamareke
Kwakwan
Little Gombi
Guyaku
Dongola
Yola
Dispensary (Waka)
Teachers' College and Secondary School (Waka)
Buratai
Meringa
Waka
Mbula Mile
Biu
Dispensary (Shafa)
Shafa
Debiro
Dispensary (Wandali)
Wandali
Health Centre
Marama
Yimirshirka
Sakwa
Hyera
Gwalam
Tiraku
Kirbutu
Kwagu
Kwajafa
Durkwa
Bilatu
Ndiragawa
Billa
Chata
Kidang
Pelambirni
Palacirroma
Garkida
Virgwi
General Hospital (Gardika)
Adamawa Provincial Leprosarium
Hawal R.
Gombe
Shanti
Wurojam
Gongola R.

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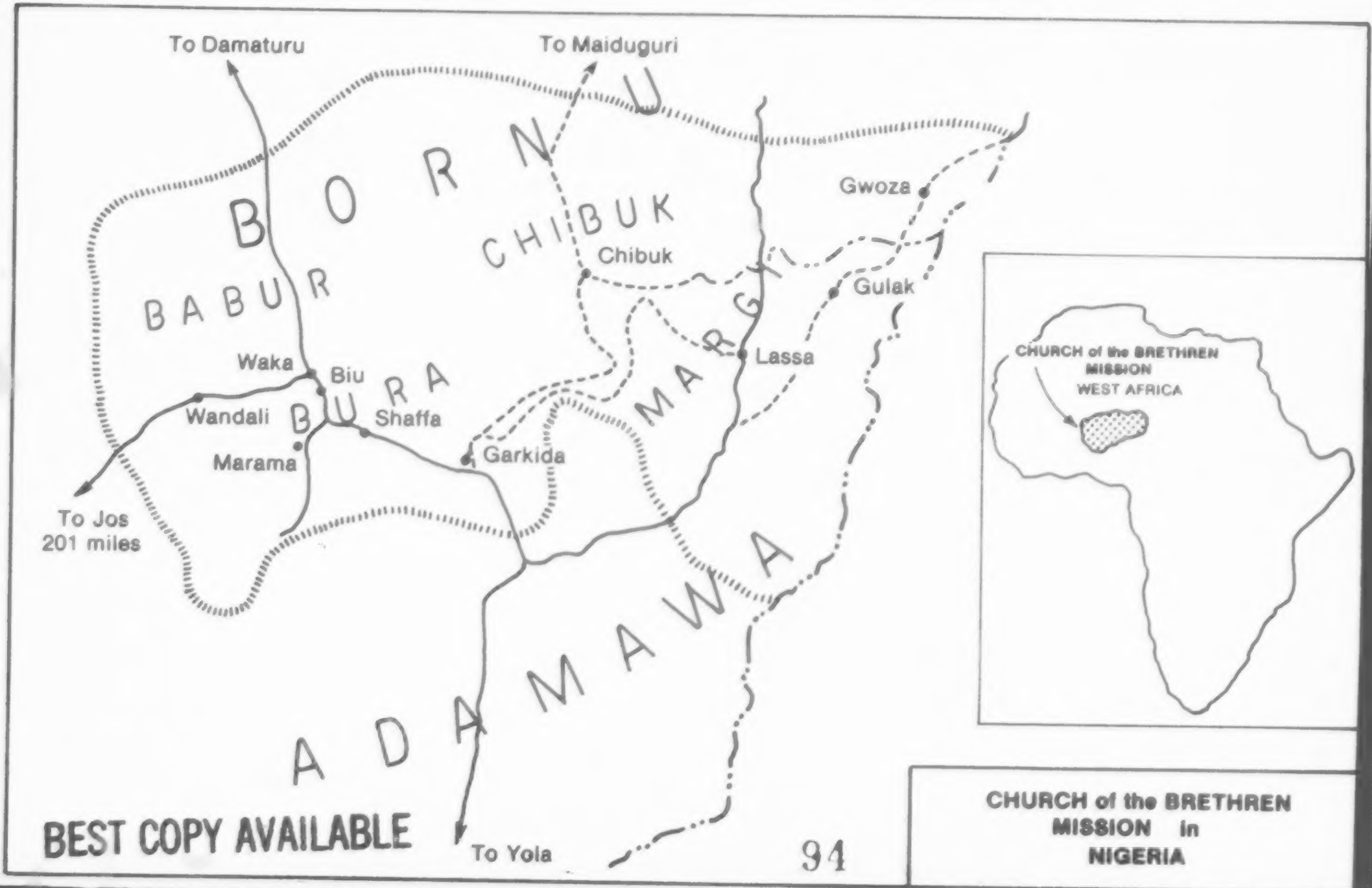

To Damaturu
To Maiduguri
BORNU
BABUR
CHIBUK
Chibuk
Gwoza
Gulak
Lassa
MARGI
Waka
Biu
BURA
Shaffa
Wandali
Marama
Garkida
To Jos
201 miles
ADAMAWA
To Yola
CHURCH of the BRETHREN MISSION
WEST AFRICA

CHURCH of the BRETHREN MISSION in NIGERIA

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THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS/WYCLIFFE BIBLE TRANSLATORS IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

ROBERT B. TAYLOR
Kansas State University

Summer Institute of Linguistics and Wycliffe Bible Translators personnel are both linguists and Bible translators who expect their efforts to result in conversion of indigenes to Christianity. The Institute trains future translators in the techniques for reducing a language to writing and translating material from one writing system to another. The translators may encourage their language informants to become Christians and, when several members of a language group have been converted, encourage them to form Christian groups. This allows the translators to avoid direct church-planting. The basic technique is to make portions of the Bible available in the people's language in anticipation that some will become Christians as a result of reading it. The Scripture portions are also used by converts in their efforts to convert others.

Although the translators do not operate as conventional missionaries, their ultimate goal is to see people converted. Accordingly, anthropologists and others opposed to religious change efforts often criticize their work. The critics commonly charge the translators with the same ethnocentrism, cross-cultural incompetence, and ignorance of change principles frequently attributed to Christian missionaries in general. I suggest that, as a group, the Wycliffe translators are more sophisticated in these respects than the members of many missionary bodies, and I explore some of the ways in which this is so and the main reasons for the sophistication. Of course, the translators sometimes fall short of anthropological standards, and I also mention some of the reasons for this.

I take my information from three decades of intermittent contact with Wycliffe personnel in the United States and Mexico and from some of the literature by and about them. I have had personal conversations with translators about their work in Montana, New Mexico and Mexico, especially at the translation center in Mitla, Oaxaca and the Mexico branch headquarters in Mexico City. I have also attended some of their conferences. For several years a former translator was one of my colleagues on the faculty at Kansas State University. However, I have not conducted systematic research into Wycliffe-SIL operations.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Probably, most cultural anthropologists feel that participant observation is one of the hallmarks of their specialty. They feel strongly that only those who are able to live successfully in culturally diverse societies are fully qualified to understand and compare different cultures for scientific purposes. Beyond this they insist that participation is essential to establishing the rapport necessary to obtain information and that investigators can get the desired "inside view" of a lifeway only by participating in it. But there have always been a few missionaries with similar views. For example, Hudson Taylor, missionary to China, stressed living as the Chinese as the best way of establishing good relationships and understanding the Chinese view of life (H. Taylor 1932:46-47). Wycliffe Bible Translators have shared this view. Translators and their families, for those who have them, live in the communities of the groups whose languages they study, sometimes for years. One of the major happenings in the life of SIL is the "allocation" of a translation team or family just beginning to work in a new place. The new workers find their new situation full of major adjustments, not the least of which is some culture shock. Experienced members of the organization deliver them to their new location and maintain close contact with them during their first weeks there. The neophytes have already rehearsed these adjustments through survival training -- in the jungles of Mexico before the organization was extensively restricted a few years ago, and now in southern Texas. In a number of cases Wycliffe linguists have taken days of their time to help anthropologists locate places to work and become established there, even when the anthropologists were not sympathetic with SIL goals. I have come to the conclusion that, because of their long experience in cross-cultural situations, a large number of Wycliffe linguists are more effective participant observers than many cultural anthropologists. I have specific individuals in mind.

Accident and disease threaten both anthropologists and linguist-translators living in physically and culturally alien environments. Both have lost their health and, in some cases, their lives, as the result. The translator who helped me locate a Zapotec community to work in eventually died of complications from amputation of a leg severely damaged when his mount fell while negotiating a mountain trail. In many instances lesser but still major difficulties confront the participant. Whatever the difficulty, Institute linguists suffer more problems than most anthropologists, since many of them spend more time in the field. One linguist and his family in Mexico were confronted with the demands of the people they had been living among for several years that their young teenage daughter marry within the community. The family had been participating in the lifeway rather deeply, but they intended their daughter to have a Western education and marry someone, years later, of Western cultural background. Anthropologists commonly either leave their children behind or remain with a group so short a time that such issues seldom arise.

Anthropologists find participant observation difficult and commonly interrupt field time to return home or elsewhere to regain objectivity or health or work through their field data in preparation for further investigation. Summer Institute linguists repair periodically to bases where they no longer have to struggle so hard to maintain mental and physical health, if there have been such problems, and where they can refurbish themselves and prepare for further field study. One linguist, working in an especially remote area and threatened by the possibility of appendicitis, had his appendix removed during one of these periods.

Throughout the history of Christian missions, some organization have established compounds where the missionaries lived together rather than among the local people. Western business people, administrators, and tourists have also formed such "ghettos." And while the Summer Institute branch bases are indispensable to the support of the field personnel, they also afford the opportunity for those less able to cope with the troubles of participation to malinger. In view of our human nature, it would be surprising if no one had ever used an Institute base to avoid a bit of unpleasant duty. Still, there are legitimate service tasks to perform on a base, and translators facing health and other problems have been able to accomplish much by working there rather than living with the people. Commonly, however, a person desiring to see Institute linguists must either go to wherever they are living in a remote place or wait many weeks or months for them to make a trip to the base.

LEGITIMIZATION

One of the elementary and most important principles of both field study and directed change is maintaining acceptable relationships with all persons whose actions may affect the flow of data, directly or indirectly. Ethnographers and change agents alike find that a significant aspect of this is legitimizing their presence and activity. Many ethnographers find it difficult to explain to people why they are in their communities, and many have reported rather innovative solutions. Christian missionaries face opposition in many places because the people do not accept their conversionist objectives. They commonly reduce their difficulty by performing nonreligious acts that win some tolerance of their religious activity by some of the local population. They may view these acts as either legitimate in their own right or do them only to gain acceptance. Medical and agricultural assistance are two of the main activities of this kind.

Summer Institute linguists have involved themselves in both activities, but linguistic study is the most unique. Cameron Townsend, the founder, and his associates had already concluded that people were most likely to become Christians and lead effective Christian lives if they could read portions of the Bible in their own languages. They quickly learned that they had to become practical linguists to translate the Bible accurately, which meant that a great deal of time had to be spent learning and analyzing the languages and developing a writing system before they could translate. And the people had to learn to read before they could use the translated items, so educational work became a part of the program. Since they had to devote the bulk of their time to scientific linguistics and educational work, the translators had an opportunity to legitimize themselves with the governmental and educational agencies of the countries in which they were working by organizing themselves as a scientific and educational organization. This is the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which was formed in 1936. The objectives of the Institute included translation of portions of the Bible and other materials of "high moral quality." But most of the academic and governmental authorities of host countries had little interest in the Bible translation, while many were greatly interested in the organization's linguistic and educational services. Usually, for the sake of the benefits, they were willing to tolerate the Bible translation and the informal and generally inconspicuous evangelistic activities. They could deal with the Institute as a scientific-educational entity. In all these they were deliberately allowing the Institute to leave their ultimate religious objectives unstated and informal.

But the Summer Institute people also had to legitimize themselves with homeland Christians who provided their financial support. The homeland Christians gave to support religious, not scientific work, so it was necessary for the Institute to emphasize the religious results of their work in the home country. For this the Institute in 1942 established a legally separate organization, the Wycliffe Bible Translators, though the same people belonged to both organizations. Through this channel the linguist-translators emphasized their roles as translators to their supporters and potential supporters at home.

PRESENTATION OF FACE

While the organizational arrangement was unique, the Institute/Wycliffe people were following one of the most widely used and, sometimes, abused principles of interpersonal and intergroup relationships, the presentation of those aspects of one's personality or group characteristics that facilitate satisfying and productive relationships. Perhaps people use three major expedients to accomplish this. In many instances they represent themselves as something other than what they really are, intentionally misleading others. Another approach is to avoid positively misrepresenting oneself but fail to reveal aspects on one's life or activity that would hinder the relationship. Thirdly, parties may implicitly agree to overlook things that might adversely affect their relationship, though both understand they are there.

The last device is strikingly illustrated in the friendship of actors Jimmy Stewart and Henry Fonda. Stewart reported that he and Fonda so valued their longtime friendship that they never discussed their extremely divergent political views. It wasn't that they pretended not to have such views. Nor was either trying to deceive the other. They simply had a higher goal -- friendship -- that was facilitated by their not presenting their deeply-held political positions to one another.

Ethnographers have frequently revealed that they use the other two devices. It is no surprise that anthropologists who live in expensive, well-appointed homes and drive top-of-the-line cars in their home countries withhold that information from their informants, since they fear that they may be subjected to criticism for being so wealthy. And those who don't believe in the supernatural seldom bother to tell their informants. But many go much farther. They pretend to believe things they do not believe and to have had experiences they have not had in order to open channels of information. Perhaps most American anthropologists know that George Spindler participated in Menominee religious ceremonies by sharing in the description of visions he alleged he had experienced so he could learn more about their religion, and Napoleon Chagnon pretended to receive evil spirits into himself under the instruction of Yanomamo religious leaders (1983:206-210).

Deception may be one of the most widely employed techniques of gaining information and bringing about change. Members of the North American Congress on Latin America advocate destruction of the capitalistic power structure of the United States. Further, they stress that research into the nature of the power structure is an instrument of liberation and suggest ten "theses on power structure research." They suggest that researchers penetrate the "information infrastructure" to gain access to sources of information, pretending to be legitimate members of "the Corporate State." Specific recommendations involving deception include using the printed stationery of the penetrated organization and pretending that a letter has been typed by a secretary (North American Congress on Latin America 1970:4).

Of course, the line between unethical deception and simply avoiding appearances that unnecessarily arouse opposition is sometimes hard to discern. The National Congress also recommends that researchers wear neat clothes and their hair short, which may be interpreted as a way of concealing the possibility that they are not members of the establishment or, simply, a means of maintaining good relationships. Apparently, people tend to vary their position on such behavior to advance their particular purposes. While advocating that power structure investigators deceive others about their actual commitments, the National Congress roundly condemns the dual identity of the

Wycliffe Bible Translators/Summer Institute of Linguistics. The Congress seems to have applied a higher standard to SIL than it is willing to use on itself. Clearly, the translators have followed a practice of not bringing up their Bible translation activities and evangelistic purposes in the host countries unless necessary. At the same time they have tried to avoid deception by including Bible translation among their stated objectives. They have also avoided establishing churches, though they fervently hope that the translated Scripture portions, the exposure of their translation assistants to the Bible, and their own personal witness will result in conversions. They also have assumed that there is no way of hiding these aspects of their work from the governmental and educational authorities. The solution as to where to draw the line between unethical deception and nondeceptive discretion is solved by assuming that it is all right to avoid mentioning things people might object to as long as they cannot be hidden. There are those of the same kind of Christian persuasion as the translators who feel that they skate too close to the line or even across it. It would be rash to claim that no member of the Institute, including the leadership, ever crossed the line, but it is clear that they have functioned within the scope of a widely accepted, widely approved set of approaches to gathering data and causing change and that they have been unsympathetic with the patently deceptive approaches used by some anthropologists and organizations such as the National Congress. While granting that Summer Institute personnel may have fallen into outright deception at points, it is clear that they do not advocate such behavior and that many of the examples adduced by critics are false. In this statement, rather than refuting accusations, I am attempting to portray SIL/Wycliffe's positions and behaviors as I have observed them.

VALUE CONFLICTS

Applied anthropologists, Summer Institute linguists and other change agents have suffered, sometimes grievously, over the difficulties of maintaining working relationships with employers and associates with ideals and policies with which they disagree. H. G. Barnett, as well as others, has noted that many anthropologists have found it difficult or impossible to work for governments because of their conviction that colonial government policy is basically detrimental to the welfare of tribal groups (Barnett 1956:65). Other anthropologists have felt that they can accept less than ideal employers and associates for the sake of accomplishing something rather than nothing for a group's welfare. Two Argentinian anthropologists roundly condemned Mexican anthropologists for directing the resettlement of the Mazatec people when their lands were flooded by the construction of a dam in the Papaloapan River (Partridge 1982:1-2). But the Mexicans accepted their positions on the grounds that there was no way to stop resettlement and they could do more to avoid many of it's destructive effects than anyone else. During the course of the resettlement program, the anthropologists discovered that they would not receive the promised funds necessary to meet the needs of the resettled population and strongly considered resigning. But, again, putting the welfare of the Mazatec above all other considerations, they decided to use their anthropological expertise and the knowledge and skills developed during earlier phases of the program in behalf of Mazatec well-being.

Summer Institute linguists face similar issues in that their work depends on the approval of national governments that often act contrary to the welfare of the indigenous groups the Institute works with. The Institute linguists do not publicly protest human rights violations by the governments of the countries in which they work, nor do they encourage the indigenous peoples to organize in protest or to rebel. For this they are severely condemned by critics of political-liberal persuasion. As Bodley points out, the political-liberal strategy for welfare of indigenous groups is to intensify their consciousness of the injustices against them and encourage them to mobilize politically and rebel against the oppressive policies of the countries in which they live (Bodley 1982:192). The Summer Institute of Linguistics cannot participate in such strategy, since they would be expelled from the countries in question without delay and without recourse. The linguists simply would not be able to realize their educational and religious objectives. Most political-liberal supporters of reform would be pleased at this result, since they oppose the instigation of religious changes. But the linguists are also concerned about the rights of indigenous groups. Inside, some would like nothing better than to encourage people to organize and protest, but they realize that there is merit in alternative approaches. Bodley classifies the Summer Institute of Linguistics as a "conservative-humanitarian" organization, the strategy of such support groups being the promotion of humanitarian assistance and the advocacy of the use of native language and the development of ethnic pride.

Perhaps there is something especially satisfying about rising up in wrath, excoriating oppressors, and organizing protests, demonstrations, and violent rebellions. But some would argue that the conservative-humanitarian approach is more productive and less costly in human welfare. It is sometimes hard to know about this, but the conservative approach is compatible with SIL religious goals, while organized protest is not. So the Summer Institute linguists suffer, mostly in silence, as their critics feature their failures to actively combat human rights violations and accuse them of aiding and abetting cultural imperialism and oppression. They attempt to communicate their viewpoints in suitable, mostly private or semi-private forums as opportunities arise or can be created. They also continue their efforts to teach the indigenous peoples to read and write both their own and the national language and provide them with knowledge and skills by which they can cope more effectively with the inevitable onslaught of civilization. At the same time, they encourage the people to take pride in their cultures and preserve many of their traditional customs. When opportunity affords, they explain their concerns to national officials. As geographer Nicole Maxwell has pointed out, any indiscretion on the part of Institute linguists could result in instant expulsion (Maxwell 1974:18). As one linguist responded to Maxwell's questioning on this, "It's easy enough to say, 'Let's you and him fight.' But we are rigidly non-political. When and if a government agency asks our opinion, we give it -- in private.... But never to any organ of the press."

FUNCTIONAL REPERCUSSIONS

Students of cultural dynamics like to stress that, because elements of cultural life are interdependent, change in one or a few customs may provoke a chain of reactions, disrupting people's lives considerably. Sharp's description of the impact of the introduction of steel axes on Yir Yoront culture in Australia has so impressed anthropologists and others that it is probably the most widely reprinted statement on the subject of functional repercussions (Sharp 1952). Missionaries introduced the steel axes, although I have been told that the missionaries on the field were forced to introduce them by their home office bosses.

The case as reported, of course, nourishes the anthropological stereotype of missionaries as ignorant or uncaring about the destructive implications of their work. The stereotype is supported by a host of other examples, however, since awareness of the systemic nature of cultures and its practical implications seems to come only with great difficulty to most Europeans and Americans. The Summer Institute's detractors (e.g. Hvalkof and Aaby 1981 and Stoll 1982) repeatedly indicate ignorance of the systemic nature of cultures among Summer Institute personnel and destructive results of their work. In view of the ease with which such failures come, it is thoroughly reasonable to expect them among the translators. The questions are how the Institute compares with other change agencies and whether or not its activities are nearly so destructive as its major detractors allege.

I have made no systematic comparison of the Summer Institute with other groups on these issues, nor am I aware of one. But Institute personnel have training opportunities to become aware of the systemic nature of cultures not found in many comparable organizations. Cultural anthropology courses taught by anthropologists have been included regularly in their summer training curricula, so the translators have been exposed to the doctrine of functionalism. It is impossible to say how well this teaching has affected their conduct in the field, especially in light of failures on this score even by some professional anthropologists. The Institute also includes a significant number of people with training in anthropology, some with undergraduate degrees and others with graduate qualification. Some of these have allowed their anthropological perspectives and knowledge to affect their work and, perhaps, have affected their colleagues' approaches. Others, particularly the several who have taken a Ph.D. in anthropology, have served as consultants to their organization and individual members concerning cross-cultural situations. Speaking impressionistically, I feel that the organization's membership ranges from those with rather limited appreciation of cultural dimensions in their work to those as keenly aware of them as any anthropologist. But, as compared with comparable organizations, things list heavily in the direction of awareness of their importance and relevance.

Some people declare that, since a specific cultural change has the potential for triggering a host of other changes, only a hands-off policy is acceptable. Others are willing to accept changes that, by their standards, help a society, but they see religious change as so far-reaching and potentially destructive that no groups should be allowed to proselytize. Critics of either persuasion are apt to attack organizations such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics for things they would not complain about against groups without religious objectives. For example, some have complained about translators' statements that they are linguists rather than missionaries, while I have heard no condemnation of some anthropologists posing as sociologists to do field work.

The Wycliffe linguists, of course, hope that the people they work with will become Christians. They also believe that Christian cultures are superior in most basic ways to nonChristian cultures. They, therefore, work in the expectation that widespread Christian conversion in a group will result in a better way of life for the people as well as an eternity in relationship with God. They point to examples such as the Tzeltal community of the Oxchuc municipality of Chiapas, Mexico, where widespread Christian conversion led to freedom from fear of witchcraft, significant material betterment, great improvement of health, the cessation of decimating killings, enhanced feelings of self-worth, and high valuation of ethical standards such as honesty and dependability (Turner

1979). Detractors suggest that the translators do not respect indigenous cultures and are simply trying to make Christian Americans out of the people. The title of the volume edited by Hvalkof and Aaby, (Is God an America? An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) illustrates this kind of attack. Yet, spokesmen for the Summer Institute have insisted that they respect the cultures of the people they work with, that they want them to preserve their traditions and maintain their pride in themselves as distinct ethnic groups. Their point of view is that Christianity can permeate a culture without doing away with it -- eliminating elements detrimental to human well-being, preserving and enhancing traditions that are compatible with essential Christianity, and giving new value and meaning to lifeways that remain distinct from others because of their cultural history and the special orientation provided by the combination of Christianity with the culture. The translators, today at least, are well aware that religious change can lead to unnecessary destruction. The Institute encourages native Christians to retain their own musical forms, write their own words to Christian songs, maintain their traditional language, and so on. But, again, if the culture appears to trouble the people, the translators have no compunction against the replacement of its troublesome aspects with Christianity. As David Taylor, who does not share the translators' religious views and was once consistently anti-missionary, has observed, the religions of many Brazilian tribes "...provide little order and no solace in the lives of the people. Life is frequently quite hellish, and gods and witchcraft are...often...the explanation for such misery." (Taylor 1974).

Without question, translators and others who do things that may cause change are engaged in delicate work. If desirable results outweigh the undesirable overall, their operations are, nevertheless, risky. As Edward Spicer has noted concerning the administrator of a technological change program, he or she is dealing "...with the well-being and happiness of generations of men and women. If his skill is poor and his judgment bad, he can destroy cooperative human relations and create hatreds that will affect uncountable numbers of people." (Spicer 1952:13). This, of course, is what the Institute's detractors emphasize. But Spicer also says "...the possibility is open for creating cooperation where it did not exist and for bettering the lives of generations. The gravity of the responsibility need not overawe, but it must impress...."

With this in mind it would be surprising to find that the results of the translators' efforts were invariably without difficulty. Stoll devotes an entire chapter to the troubles of the Institute's work among the Huaorani of Ecuador (1982:278-322). After the five missionaries were killed while trying to establish contact with them in 1956, the Institute used a linguistic approach to reach them. Problems developed, partly because their efforts opened continuing contact with outsiders. Anthropologist James Yost, now anthropology coordinator for the Summer Institute of Linguistics, was called in to study the situation and found that the Huaorani had become quite dependent on outsiders for various goods and services for which they had developed a strong desire (Yost 1978:5). The Institute's decision was to withdraw for an indefinite time to undermine the destructive dependence. When the translators returned they operated somewhat differently than before, including avoidance of acting as agents for any outside trade goods. Undoubtedly, the Institute's awareness and use of cultural perspectives has had to develop over the years, and there are surely different degrees of understanding within the membership, but the use of an in-house anthropologist to help solve a recognized problem in intercultural and intracultural relationships illustrates a high level of awareness and a desire to cope effectively with difficulties. Few groups outside of anthropology include so many that recognize the significance of a culture's systemic nature.

ETHNIC IDENTITY IN CHANGE

Anthropologists have noted that groups can change radically with minimum destruction of their sense of well-being if, during the process, they are able to maintain a sense of identity as distinctive ethnic groups. Bruner, for example, stresses that, until recently, American Indians have had to reject their identity as Indians in order to change their culture (Bruner 1976:243). In Sumatra, however, he found that one could be a Batak and modern simultaneously. A Batak need not renounce his own social group or personal identity to change his lifeway. Batak who obtain an education and move to the city remain Batak, and feel every bit as worthwhile and, perhaps a little superior to other Indonesians. They are not ashamed of their past or of those Batak who have not yet modernized.

Current Summer Institute viewpoints are quite consistent with this orientation toward change. The Institute translators hold that there is no way to stop the change of indigenous cultures, and the question of the effects of change on their well-being has become of fundamental importance to them. A key element in their approach is to enable the people to read and write their own languages, and this contributes significantly to a people's conception of themselves as a culturally distinct society of value and worthy of being allowed to maintain continuity with their past. Geographer Nicole Maxwell has noted how Summer Institute activities promotes pride in indigenous groups. He comments that when the people see how hard the translators work to learn their language, it strongly reinforces their respect for their own culture (Maxwell 1974:21). He indicates further how landowners and traders who wish to exploit the tribal peoples complain, "Once those linguists get hold of an Indian,...you can't do a thing with him. He thinks he's as good as anybody!" (Ibid.). Alan Pence of the Institute has noted how its activities tend to preserve vital aspects of indigenous cultures and produce pride and an improved self image (1979). Like the Batak, indigenous groups can become members of the world community while maintaining a sense of pride in and continuity with their cultural past with the feeling that vital orientations of their traditional cultures have been preserved. If to these we add linguistic, legal, economic and other skills for coping with those who would dominate them, it appears that the Institute's approach, effectively used, has much to recommend it as a way of solving the problems of those in danger of being overwhelmed by the outside world.

ETHNOCENTRISM AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM

Most anthropologists define ethnocentrism as the belief that one's own culture is superior to others and say missionaries are ethnocentric because they believe their religion is superior to those of the people they attempt to convert. To that extent Wycliffe Bible Translators are certainly ethnocentric. But those of all persuasions have difficulty escaping ethnocentrism. A number of applied anthropologists have recognized that is is the foundation of their specialty (Bastide 1971:16). Those who seek to bring better health and other benefits to various groups may be operating under the assumption that those benefits are universally preferable and that cultures that provide them for their people or others who may be subordinate to them are, in that way, superior. And, if not that, they may assume that it is superior to help people who have decided they want certain benefits.

In spite of this, the vast majority of anthropologists regard themselves as cultural relativists. Bagish has summarized full-blown cultural relativism under four points (Bagish 1983:23). First, there are no universal standards for comparing and evaluating customs and cultures. Second, the only way to understand a custom is within the context of the culture in which it exists. Third, all customs and cultures are equally valid. Finally, we, therefore, must respect and tolerate all customs and cultures. He attacks the third and fourth positions on the grounds that their acceptance requires unverifiable assumptions and insists that there are standards for evaluating some kinds of customs. He also suggests that as people of different cultures join to compare and evaluate human ways, an unexpectedly high measure of agreement about what kinds of customs work best for widely valued goals can be achieved. Bagish attributes much of his disenchantment with full-blown cultural relativism to the difficulty of believing that incapacitating forms of mutilation, ineffective means of birth control, customs that result in the suffering and death of multitudes, and the like are as valid as certain alternatives.

A number of anthropologists have put forth standards for evaluating customs. Walter Goldschmidt, for example, has suggested that economic development be evaluated by whether it increases or decreases a given culture's ability to satisfy the people's physical and psychological needs and whether it contributes to stability or instability (Goldschmidt 1952:135). Anthropologist John Bodley, who has written an entire book describing and condemning the pillaging of indigenous societies and their cultures by industrial civilizations, describes Goldschmidt's standards as "universally relevant" (Bodley 1982:150). John G. Kennedy, who studied pagan Tarahumara culture by participant observation, felt impelled to evaluate certain elements of the culture. He suggested that we must develop some kind of supercultural measuring stick to enable us to legitimately "...transcend the bog of total cultural relativism." (Kennedy 1978:221). He speaks of the costs of practical losses which threaten Tarahumara life and health and which are recognized as deleterious by the Tarahumara themselves. For example, they express concern that their drunkenness frequently results in an infant's death as a mother drops it in the fire or, while in a stupor, rolls over and crushes it. Other Tarahumara fall over cliffs and injure or kill themselves on their way home from beer parties. Kennedy describes these and several other costs of Tarahumara customs. He refers also to dysfunctions or social losses. These include the fact that the beer parties lead to the regular violation of the two moral prohibitions that are most important to them, that against fighting and the taboo on adultery (Kennedy 1978:224).

I present these examples to illustrate that anthropological thought includes the notion that it is possible to evaluate customs. Therefore, Summer Institute linguists are conforming to some anthropological practice when they view customs of the groups they work among as needing modification. I would suggest further, that there may be considerable agreement on this between Institute personnel and secular anthropologists who see cultural evaluation as a legitimate possibility. Of course, the whole question of comparing and evaluating customs remains a scientific and philosophical quagmire, and the difficulties should not be minimized. Nevertheless, many who condemn Wycliffe/SIL people for making judgments are being inconsistent, since they themselves are making judgments. And even if some do not, many anthropologists and other social scientists do. If there is absolutely no basis for judgments, it is inconsistent to condemn anyone for making them. Many others have made this point, but it is so consistently overlooked that it bears many repetitions.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Summer Institute of Linguistics could be examined with regard to many other anthropological principles, but time is too limited. Let's review the points covered.

Many of the Institute translators are effective participant observers, having many of the same kinds of experiences and confronting problems similar to those of ethnographers. Some of them participate in greater depth than most anthropologists because of the time they spend at it, though they avoid specific forms of participation because of their Christian standards.

Since they engage in a wider range of activities than most anthropologists, the Wycliffe/SIL people have had some special difficulties of legitimization. They have legitimized themselves with governmental and academic agencies by performing linguistic and educational roles highly valued by those agencies. They legitimize themselves in the homeland by emphasizing Bible translation and its Christianizing effects. And with the people whose languages they study, they participate in their lifeways and provide them with literacy, medical, and other services.

Field workers and change agents must present themselves by emphasizing characteristics and roles most likely to please those with whom they want to maintain productive relationships. Many anthropologists employ deception, and critics accuse the translators of it. Clearly, they have long avoided raising issues that might be red flags to some, and they have presented themselves in ways that do not emphasize their Bible translation and informal personal witnessing. They have avoided activities that might arouse opposition, such as formal evangelistic efforts and establishing churches, but it is not possible for them to hide their religious objectives, and they have recognized this. They know that the governmental and educational authorities are aware of their ultimate religious objectives, but they diplomatically avoid making a point of this awareness.

The translators have also been plagued by having to maintain satisfactory relationships with governmental and academic agencies with policies and programs they disagree with. Some anthropologists have refused to accept relationships with agencies that violate human rights, while others accept and maintain such relationships because they feel they can do more good that way. The Summer Institute has maintained such relationships because they see the bringing of Christianity to societies as a far greater good than all others. Critics who disagree with them have brought the translators much trouble because they refuse to attack agencies for their acts of oppression and do not openly encourage the oppressed to rebel.

Many of the translators are more deeply aware than most others that the elements that make up a group's lifeway are interdependent. They realize that introductions can precipitate a chain of cultural and ecosystem reactions and recognize the destructive possibilities. Accordingly, they try to avoid nonessential and unimportant changes, but they expect the acceptance of essential Christianity to have salutory effects on the culture and the society's well-being. They are more willing than most anthropologists to risk religious change because of their high value of Christian commitment for this life and beyond.

Through the several decades of their existence, the Summer Institute people have increasingly recognized that preservation of valued traditions and maintenance of pride in one's cultural past make important contributions to people's sense of well-being and their ability to cope with the ravages of civilization. To the extent that they promote these things they conform to anthropological findings that groups that can change without losing their sense of ethnic identity are far more satisfied with their lives than those that must give up their identities.

Finally, though it is unlikely that anyone escapes ethnocentrism completely, a high percentage of Wycliffe /SIL personnel are probably less ethnocentric than other non-anthropological groups. To a person, probably, they disagree with the relativistic positions that there is no way to evaluate customs, that all customs are equally valid, and that we must respect and tolerate all customs. Many of them understand quite fully the relativistic principle that a custom can be understood and evaluated only by relating it to its own cultural context and by suspending judgement while trying to discern the nature of a custom. In these respects their views are basically similar to those of an increasing number of secular anthropologists.

The Summer Institute translators have come to manifest their particular configuration of characteristics in large part because their founder, Cameron Townsend made a linguistic approach the key to the group's work. He did this, first, because of his belief that people are more responsive to Christian teaching if they have portions of the Bible in their own language. Then, he found that the practical linguistic analyses necessary to high quality translation helped to legitimize the translators' activities. The incorporation of linguistics as a major component of Wycliffe/Summer Institute activity, the main component in terms of time, makes that activity a "dominant correlate" -- a change that produces a chain of functional repercussions because of its connections with other elements of the cultural system (Barnett 1951:89).

Anthropologists are fully familiar with the connections between linguistic work and cultural situations. They define linguistic customs as cultural phenomena and emphasize that linguistic behavior is essential to the communication of customs and the transmission of cultures through time. The Wycliffe linguists quickly learned that they had to consider nonlinguistic factors to analyze a language and produce a meaningful translation. In the field situation they came into contact with ethnographers and linguistic anthropologists, and those who published their linguistic work in scientific journals were also brought into contact with anthropologists and anthropological literature. Linguistic academic programs are often a part of an anthropology program or closely connected with it, so Summer Institute personnel found themselves in anthropological academic environments. These and similar connections increasingly exposed the translators to anthropological perspectives, which many of them readily perceived as significant for their work.

As participant observing students of languages and the cultures for which they are vehicles, Summer Institute linguists have undoubtedly experienced some of the same development of awareness as the field of cultural anthropology. But as they developed this awareness they found already existing anthropological perspectives to draw on. The result is that a number of translators have earned the Ph.D. in cultural anthropology and make their anthropological perspectives available to their colleagues.

The translators' Christian beliefs, of course, are also of great importance to understanding the nature of the two organizations. Since they believe people must become Christians to be in eternal relationship to God, they cannot accept the view that stimulating religious change is bad. To them, it is an ultimate good. For the same reason, they cannot accept the notion that all customs and cultures are equally valid and to be tolerated. They believe that Christian cultures are better than nonChristian cultures by both temporal and eternal criteria. As a group, therefore, they may be considered more ethnocentric than anthropologists. Many of the translators feel a commitment to compare the religions and cultures of indigenous groups unfavorably with Christian alternatives and come to regard them as more costly and less functional than they really are. There are some translators -- it is impossible to estimate what proportion -- who become aware of the functional value of indigenous religions and related customs and respect them. They do not believe them to be as satisfactory as Christian alternatives, but they respect them as products of human creativity that exist because they meet human needs.

The translators combine their commitment to Christianity as the only fully acceptable answer to the human condition as theologically conservative Christians understand it with perspectives they share with cultural anthropologists. This somewhat unusual combination accounts in large part for the distinctive nature of the two organizations under which they conduct their work, as well as the difficulties and opportunities they face in the current ferment of change.

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THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE IN
IS GOD AN AMERICAN

CLAUDE E. STIPE
Marquette University

INTRODUCTION

In 1981 the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs and Survival International published a book titled Is God an American? with the subtitle An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The volume was edited by Hvalkof and Aaby of the University of Copenhagen and consists of 13 essays, including introductory and concluding essays by the editors.

In their introductory essay the editors state that the purpose of the book is to "analyze some of the social and cultural implications of WBT/SIL's attempt to bring the Word" to some tribal groups (p. 9). They characterize the volume as a "collection of anthropological essays" (p. 9), and state that the perspective is anthropological because it "mostly concentrates on the effects of SIL's work in specific communities" (p. 15). Anthropological scrutiny of SIL is called for because through "use of the native language and creation of an indigenous elite it represents a modernized form of cultural imperialism" (p. 14). Another factor precipitating an analysis of SIL is that their attempt to change Indian societies from within illuminates those social preconditions necessary for discovering a suitable survival strategy for the Indians in their struggle against persistent expansion (p. 14). The editors also state that since they believe the situation of the Indians cannot be understood only in local terms, the writers incorporate into their analyses the effects of multinational corporations, international development organizations, and development policies of specific states (p. 15).

My purpose here is to evaluate the extent to which this collection of essays meets not only the criteria stated by the authors, but also the generally accepted criteria for anthropological analyses.

In my opinion, only four of the eleven major essays qualify as anthropological analyses of the changes caused by SIL personnel. Vickers' study of the effects of the Jesuits and the SIL on the Tucanoans of Ecuador is excellent. Hahn admits that his study of the Rikbakca of Brazil includes some claims that are only speculative (p. 104), and that his proposed ideal situation for culture contact probably never could occur (p. 103). Moore emphasizes that his study of the influence of SIL personnel on the Amarakaeri of Peru "cannot be generalized to all or even many of the ethnic groups with which SIL works" (p. 135). Smith "editorializes" all through his discussion of the changes which the Amuesha of Peru have experienced, so I consider its anthropological quality to be lower than the other three studies.

It is difficult to understand how some of the other essays could be classified as anthropological, unless all treatments of the relationships between two ethnic groups automatically becomes anthropology. Statements by a number of the authors raise questions about classifying their essays as anthropology. In the first of Stoll's two essays he states that his theme is "how a bearer of the Word of God has abused words" (p. 23). His second essay deals with the "mystery" of how SIL has remained in Colombia despite recurring crises (p. 63). Robinson purports to focus on the sociology of evangelical missionary groups, how they are recruited, move abroad, and settle down to administer "native societies' access to the market system and the emerging national polity" (p. 41). According to Pereira the first task in evaluating missionary work is to "establish in our minds the real interests of the North American sects in South America, which means that we must strip them of their humanitarian guise" (p. 109). The essay by d'Ans opens with the statement that he was able to gather "very accurate information" concerning the "generally nefarious impact" of SIL's field activities and the "fraud perpetrated" by them which "conceals its real action behind so-called 'scientific' motives" (p. 145). Smith informs us that the common idealized image of the Christian missionary is almost completely at variance with the actual people and activities, so he has chosen the task of "demystifying" the missionaries by critically examining who they are, what they do, and how they do it" (p. 121).

In the final essay the editors conclude that the articles have "examined SIL's work at different stages of its development and under diverse social circumstances" (p. 173), ignoring the fact that many of the articles included very little on the actual work.

BACKGROUND OF MISSIONARIES

One method of negatively evaluating missionaries used by the authors is referring to their geographical and cultural background, and even their physical and psychological characteristics. However, the different authors do not always agree on that background. According to Hvalkof and Aaby, like Townsend, most of the missionaries had backgrounds in the mid-west and south (p. 11), but Stoll states that Townsend was the son of a tenant farmer in southern California (p. 24). Arcand claims that SIL missionaries are usually from rural America - often from the midwest. Coming from the smaller communities, they are part of the "silent majority," tend to vote conservative, and are totally dedicated to the Protestant ethics of individualism and hard work (p. 77). Robinson associates them with the extreme right wing of Nixon's Republican party because Nixon had impressive strength in southern California where WBT/SIL home offices are located and "where they recruit their staffs" (p. 42). Robinson erroneously refers to the organization as the Wycliffe Bible Society (rather than the Wycliffe Bible Translators) and incorrectly gives Santa Ana, California as the location of their headquarters. It seems highly unlikely that people who have experienced both southern California and rural communities in the midwest would consider them the same environments as these authors do.

Robinson attempts to explain why people become missionaries, and without documentation claims that it was a result of frustration with a politically naive populist movement in the 1890's (p. 42). The followers of the movement were at odds with urban America and longed for a simpler past with a more rural variety of religious and social experiences (p. 44). Disenchantment with their own country led them to settle down in other countries and start a process of social change in their potential converts (p. 45). In spite of these statements, Robinson suggests that "certainly it was culturally shocking to be radically displaced from industrial society to the tribal" (p. 45). Evidently the missionaries' background produces very unsophisticated people, because Pereira contends that they are so naive that they are incapable of discerning "the ideological foundations and political interests of the policy that manipulates them" (p. 111).

Even the physical and psychological characteristics of the missionaries are denigrated. After noting that they normally look healthy and are physically large, Arcand comments, "It is not known how many of these missionaries are considered backward, ugly farmers by other Americans. How many carry abroad with them the feelings and frustration of inferiority, or at least marginality, developed at home?" (p. 77). Robinson adds that increasingly missionaries are children of former missionaries "who are not able to adjust to a continental American society they no longer understand nor enjoy" (p. 41). These statements are difficult to reconcile with the charge that missionaries live a typical middle-class American life-style on their bases (Hvalkof and Aaby p. 11).

To take Arcand seriously would necessitate assuming not only that most missionaries are from rural, farming areas, but that they went directly from those communities to foreign countries. In 1982 118 SIL members held PhD's and another 570 held MA's. We would have to assume that the posited negative self-image was not affected by the successful completion of graduate programs in some of the major universities in the United States.

From comments of this type we learn less about the actual backgrounds of the missionaries than about the attitudes of the authors toward missionaries and toward specific geographical areas of the United States. None of the authors considers the reasons missionaries give for having chosen that type of endeavor for their life work.

DECEIT

Four of the authors accuse SIL of practicing deceit in their relationships with government officials and/or with their North American supporters. They especially note that there are two separately incorporated organizations, under the names of Wycliffe Bible Translators and Summer Institute of Linguistics. WBT raises money for the missionary work and SIL deals with government officials in whose countries the work is being done. Hvalkof and Aaby suggest that the success of WBT/SIL may depend on their ability to convince the countries of their scientific image, and the home supporters of their missionary aspect (p. 11).

After perusing WBT publications, Stoll concluded that not until 1956-57 did home supporters know that their missionaries were in the field under the auspices of SIL (p. 27). Hvalkof and Aaby claim that any relationship between WBT and SIL was "categorically denied," but that in 1953 Townsend was "unmasked" and forced to admit the connection (p. 10). According to Stoll, the unveiling of SIL linguists as Protestant missionaries "amounted to a scandal in itself" (p. 72). After claiming that SIL duped host countries into believing that it was a linguistic and cultural rather than a missionary organization, Stoll contradicts his own indictments. He notes that in Mexico (the first country in which SIL worked), President Cardenas "apparently knew that Townsend was a missionary" (p. 26). After stating that SIL's admission in Peru in 1953 that there was a vital connection between WBT and SIL established them as a "Protestant conspiracy," Stoll notes that recently in Colombia SIL has been accused of having tricked the National Front by failing to explain that they were an evangelical mission (p. 65). He also states that to keep the Catholic bishops in Colombia calm, Townsend agreed not to do missionary work (p. 66).

There is no explanation of how a group publicly identified as missionaries in one Latin American country could subsequently mislead officials of other countries into believing they were not. It seems highly unlikely that any country negotiating a contract with SIL would fail to investigate their activities in countries in which they were already working. There are other indications that charges of this type of duplicity are in error. In Brazil the SIL contract with the Ministry of Education prohibited any religious instruction in the school setting (Vickers p. 56), which would have been meaningless if their religious orientation was not recognized.

Even Hvalkof and Aaby conclude that speculations that SIL cheated national governments by concealing their religious intentions could not be valid, because most governments surely must have been knowledgeable about those intentions (p. 184).

AGENTS OF UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM

As the editors state, the struggle against SIL must contain criticisms of their "function as cultural and economic imperialists" (p. 184). Although SIL is also accused of cooperating with national governments, they prefer to set SIL into functional integration with foreign imperialism rather than national governments (p. 184). The accusation of imperialism is stated in many ways. Hvalkof and Aaby accuse them of cultural imperialism because they use the native language and therefore create an indigenous elite (p. 14). Smith decries the "damned deviousness of their imperialism" which causes profound cultural destruction (p. 132).

Robinson claims that the imperial condition is faithfully reflected in Ecuador, where capital is scarce and where foreign interests exploit their resources and consumers (p. 46).

Charges of complicity with the United States and imperialism come primarily from the editors, Stoll, Robinson, and Pereira. One of the most extreme statements is by Robinson. After noting the high development of technology and the cooperation among the various Protestant missions, he suggests that the central question is "just why all this? So that God's work may be done?" Since he cannot accept that as a legitimate answer, he asks: "Is it farfetched to imagine a direct link with United States foreign policy and imperial strategy? Could the U.S. intelligence community be directly involved? Certainly we can anticipate such a situation when nationalist and revolutionary movements and rhetoric threaten American military and missionary security...." (pp. 48-49). He posits an "undeniable, sychronous link between evangelical missionary efforts and the United States strategic interests." When Nixon became president, it was "only natural that the simplistic rhetoric of a prior decade would be instrumental in convincing the religious groups to perform covert intelligence tasks, particularly in areas where strategic petroleum and mineral resources abound" (p. 42). With the discovery of substantial petroleum resources in Ecuador, "the link between the missionary establishment's growth and the United States strategic interests have taken on added significance" (p. 44). He also argues that since the demise of the Peace Corps in Latin America, "Missionaries have become essential informants to the American intelligence community" (p. 44). Townsend, whom Robinson characterizes as a "crafty Yankee conservative," is said to have been aware of the bountiful resources of Amazonia, because they had been surveyed by the OSS, the predecessor of the CIA. Townsend "unquestionably" consulted both the State Department and the intelligence network of "old boys" when he first went to Ecuador. Robinson concludes that "It does not require too much imagination to appreciate the long range strategic value of having listening posts and political monitoring instruments in remote resources-rich areas of the Free World" (p. 46).

Stoll quotes with evident approval the charge of a Roman Catholic priest in 1970 that the SIL is a "neo-colonial force in the service of the United States," and notes that it may have been the first such statement in all their South American fields (p. 69).

Hahn disagrees with the charges that the SIL intentionally promotes the economic and political policies of the United States, and claims that in the Rikbakca situation it is a distortion of the facts; they have never "to the best of my knowledge been motivated by a goal of promoting the interests of industrial society" (p. 86). "While SIL may effect some changes in Rikbakca life with consequences beneficial to imperialist interests, these are not its only effects. Nor are they part of the linguists' intentions" (p. 100).

Hvalkof and Aaby acknowledge that charges of SIL connection with American imperialism originated mainly within the leftist and nationalist circles which portrayed SIL as constantly seeking for information which would be useful for military or strategic purposes, or for natural resources which could be exploited by multinational corporations (p. 183). They admit that indictments of a conspiracy between the CIA and SIL are difficult to prove, and that institutional connections between them have never been substantiated, yet maintain that SIL's work has probably yielded some valuable intelligence. How much of these data have gone into the CIA or U.S. Army files "is unknown" (p. 183). They conclude that the dominant role played by the United States in Latin America is a valid reason for setting the SIL into "functional integration with foreign imperialism" (p. 184).

The statement by Hvalkof and Aaby that much of the debate about SIL has focused on "demonstrating that SIL's cover is part of a larger 'imperialist plot'" (p. 15) suggests that they are not concerned with the distinction between unsubstantiated accusations and demonstrated connections.

AGENTS OF CAPITALISM

Missionaries are also faulted for being part of the capitalist system. Robinson argues that SIL is ideologically opposed to confronting the issue of "capitalist exploitation" (p. 41) and that "the growth of the missionary apparatus coincides with Ecuador's insertion into orbit with the international capitalist system" (p. 46). After recounting anonymous accusations that SIL personnel are guilty of working goldmines, Pereira states that "such enterprises can hardly contribute to the rescue of the American economy, and do not justify an organizational expenditure which is counted in the millions. There can be no question of reimbursing it with gold dust brought home in pocket flashlights" (p. 111). d'Ans claims that the indigenous teachers trained by SIL have been diverted from their original goals by a capitalist enterprise. They were subjected to an alienating education which advocated a view of the world, economic relations and social organization "totally out of step with traditional patterns as well as with modern Peru" (p. 162).

Hvalkof and Aaby leave no question about their attitude toward capitalism. The "real source" of the "Indian problem" is the socioeconomic structure which brings about expansion. If one wants to understand this problem, it is necessary to understand the effects of "foreign investments, resettlement schemes, national development projects and military consolidation" (p. 14). The effects on the Indians are determined by their relationship with the dependent capitalist states (p. 173). They argue that integration of the Indians into a capitalist system is not a viable alternative and that such integration should be resisted. Since capitalism offers Indians integration only at the lowest possible social ranks, the traditional features which push them toward capitalism and also those which hinder their struggle against such integration should be restructured (p. 177). To Hvalkof and Aaby the underlying force behind all the injustices suffered by the Indians at the hands of outsiders is "capitalism's attempt to resolve its internal contradictions by appropriating the Indian's labor, land, and resources" (p. 185). Therefore missionaries must be criticized for participating in national development programs which use capitalist expansion in attempting to solve national economic problems rather than changing the structure of the economic system (p. 184).

To some of the authors, if capitalism is the problem, communism is the solution. Robinson's statement that "Mindless but astute American anticommunism is today one of the Third World's and native groups' most potent enemies in the evolving struggle for liberation" (p. 49) is one of the most specific. Arcand notes that some missionaries seem almost paranoid about guerrilla uprisings, which may be a result of the ancient persecution of Protestants in Colombia and also American anticommunist propaganda (p. 83). It is only missionaries and "backward politicians" that consider native self-defense movements to be communist (Stoll p. 75). Hvalkof and Aaby state that "the basic anti-communism of the missionaries is incontrovertible" (p. 183).

d'Ans appeals to "revolutionary integrity" in demanding a global condemnation of past activities of SIL and questioning its basic organization (p. 161). The revolution "daily gives us the will to solve our problems through efficient, cheap means based on the collective conscience and efforts of our local communities" (p. 162).

There is no consideration in this volume of why missionaries are anticommunist except to relate it to United States political propaganda. Both Stoll (p. 64) and Robinson (p. 46) refer to "godless communism," but the purpose is to ridicule the missionaries rather than to attempt to understand their attitudes. When one considers the fate of Christian churches in communist countries, the attitude of the missionaries is certainly understandable.

RELATIONSHIPS TO NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

SIL personnel are also castigated for involvement in and cooperation with the national governments of the countries in which they serve. They have been charged with running supplies to military garrisons in Peru (Stoll p. 28), and with supplying maps to the military to aid in locating guerrillas in Peru and Bolivia (Stoll p. 64, Pereira p. 111). Pereira categorizes supplying such maps as interfering in the internal affairs of a state (p. 111). Stoll also charges that in Colombia SIL is "a circumspect, autonomous arm of the state, responding chiefly to pressure from the sub-ministerial and ministerial levels" (p. 66).

Stoll and d'Ans are distressed because anti-SIL groups and organizations have not been able to force their expulsion. The Colombian Minister of Government ignored such organizations in 1971, which according to Stoll showed that "the government's review process was bankrupt," and that in the Ministry of Government, "North American missionaries counted for more than Colombian indigenists" (p. 72).

d'Ans states that "progressive intellectuals" in Peru were almost successful in getting SIL expelled in 1975, but a few "moderate" voices suggested that the country was not ready to carry out bilingual education without help from SIL. The attempt was stopped by the rise of the political right in 1976 (p. 145). (Although d'Ans attributes the support for SIL to the political "right," Hvalkof and Aaby state that "it is hardly accidental that SIL has often been admitted during periods when liberal or populist governments were trying to create national economic development and to undermine conservative forces" (p. 183)). d'Ans attributes SIL's continued presence in Peru to "the contamination of the traditional elites" and especially those in the Ministry of Education (p. 147). The "established intelligensia" as well as officials and civil servants have been fascinated by the "glitter of the technical and pseudo-scientific support system displayed by this Holy Scriptures multinational concern" (p. 145). The "glittering statements and laudatory declarations of a handful of defenseless intellectuals rendered speechless with admiration for the gringoes [sic], their planes and radio-sets, their computers..." have favorably impressed Peruvian public opinion (p. 147).

Rus and Wasserstrom seem surprised that even though some social scientists in Mexico have criticized SIL, it is supported by official patrons at the highest levels of government (p. 171). They state that Townsend's close relationship with President Cardenas developed because Townsend maintained close ties with, and could influence, right-wing politicians and businessmen in the United States who did not appreciate such activities as the nationalization of United States oil interests in Mexico (p. 164). They also suggest that to a large extent, SIL's success as a global enterprise can be traced to "early skill in identifying its purposes with those of the country's political leaders," and that in Mexico their purposes were much the same as the Instituto Nacional Indigenista, which perceived three primary reasons for the backwardness of the Indians - alcoholism, witchcraft, and monolingualism (p. 165). They maintain that SIL has willingly collaborated with a government which since 1916 has openly proclaimed its intention to destroy native culture and transform indigenous peoples into Mestizos (p. 171).

Although it has no connection with SIL, Robinson castigates the station HCJB (World Radio Missionary Fellowship) in Quito for its alliance with the ruling Ecuadorean elites. "Because the HCJB news staff never openly opposes government policy nor engages in substantive and critical investigative journalism, it must be called to judgment for sins of ommission" (p. 48).

Hvalkof and Aaby recognize that SIL could not do translation work without offering services to the respective national governments (p. 184), but often seem to ignore the fact that SIL's presence is at the discretion of those governments, which could easily deport them. They charge that SIL has tried to "ingratiate itself... by playing upon state interests in national integration" (p. 183). They castigate SIL for not having publicly condemned the ethnocidal and genocidal policies carried out by many of the governments, and for participating in national development plans which "seek to solve national economic problems through capitalist expansion rather than through structural change" (p. 184).

These authors seem to ignore the fact that an expatriate in a country, whose visa can be cancelled at any time, is in a different situation than is a citizen of that country when public condemnation of governmental policies is concerned. Some anthropologists support the use of ethnographic data for political advocacy, but as Preston (1976) notes, such activity would rapidly reduce our field of research to the United States alone. Also, to argue that it is best to publicly condemn the government and be deported suggests that public confrontation is the only method for effecting changes in a system.

ETHNOCIDE

Moore notes that the most serious charge against SIL is that they are responsible for ethnocide in the native communities in which they work (p. 133). He defines ethnocide as "the destruction of traditional cultures, that is, the denial of their possibilities for survival as viable ethnic units having integrated structures and historic traditions" (p. 134). Hvalkof and Aaby note that ethnocide occurs when structural transformations make it "impossible for a group to maintain its existence under its own preconditions" (p. 186, fn. 1). They also include any social processes which destroy the ability of the traditional society to maintain self-determination (p. 177). Moore is not against all cultural change, only that which results from a series of unequal exchanges associated with economic imperialism. Economic exploitation is not the only facet, for the "technological, sociological, and ideological foundations of their cultures" are also sacrificed (p. 134). He states that perhaps SIL's most significant role in ethnocide has been in ideological change (p. 137).

Both Arcand and Pereira state unequivocally that the aim of SIL personnel is "the brutal destruction" of the traditional way of life (Arcand p. 80), and the "total destruction of the Indian cultures" (Pereira p. 114).

Hahn and Moore present a different analysis. Hahn claims that although there are differences among the various missionaries, they have "generally respected Rikbakca practices, though they have been disturbed by such practices as 'adultery' and violence. Even here, however, I do not think they have attempted to impose their beliefs" (p. 100). Moore notes that the missionary to the Amarakaeri made conscious efforts to maintain traditional forms of social organization.

He encouraged the Indians to maintain their traditional kin designations and only marry outside their agnatic clans. He also tried to reinforce clan awareness among children by giving them Spanish surnames according to clan affiliation (p. 136).

Hvalkof and Aaby evidently are not impressed with the statements of Hahn and Moore, because in their final essay they argue that the missionaries try to "counteract polygamy, marriage rules, traditional forms of cooperation and ceremony, gift giving, oral traditions, etc. If they simultaneously support other aspects of the indigenous culture, these are either trivial ones (e.g. feathers in the nasal septum) or can be commercialized (e.g. 'Indian' tourist articles)" (p. 181). They charge that SIL's claims of supporting cultural traditions are not warranted; "It systematically subverts and destroys them" (p. 181).

There is some recognition that what often is categorized as "ethnocide" may be advantageous to the Indians. They are commonly seen as "savages" who can be dealt with with impunity by nationals in their respective countries. Vickers suggests that Christian conversion gives the Siona-Secoya a "legitimate" religion from the perspective of the Ecuadorean nationals, and that having a school in their community provides them with an additional claim to being "civilized," which may protect them from some of the more gross forms of injustice (p. 59). Hahn states that the introduction of Western style clothing may be to the advantage of the Rikbakca because they will seem less strange to the Brazilian frontiersmen, who therefore may treat them less harshly (p. 96). He also notes that the learning of the indigenous languages by missionaries may help indigenous groups to maintain their integrity when it is undermined in other ways (p. 100).

SELF-DETERMINATION

In three essays the authors state that indigenous populations should be treated as sovereign states so that self-determination is preserved. Only Hahn gives a specific scenario for establishing the proper setting for the process of self-determination. In his suggested ideal situation all frontiersmen would be temporarily removed. The language and culture of the indigenous society would be learned, after which the nature of the dominant society would be explained to them. Only after this would a mutually compatible compromise with the frontier be established. Hahn knows of no situation in which contact between a powerless society and an industrial society has followed this pattern, and admits that even if one wanted to, carrying out such an ideal program would be unlikely (pp. 103-104).

Rus and Wasserstrom class missionaries with economic modernizers and indigenista bureaucrats in Mexico as not having taken seriously the notion that "Indians have a right both to remain what they are and to make informed decisions about their future" (p. 171). No suggestions are made as to how the Indians are to be prepared to make "informed" decisions. They probably would not be able to make such decisions without at least some direct experience with different facets of the dominant culture, and there is no good reason to expect that they would necessarily make choices with which interested anthropologists would agree.

According to Hvalkof and Aaby the criterion for any type of intervention is whether it helps the group to "achieve self-determination as a culturally viable, continuously reproducing social unit" (p. 177). For this to take place, positive intervention "must attempt to secure Indian control over crucial natural resources, and must try to impede the creation of exploitative labor and trade relations" (p. 178). The fact that SIL personnel preach "the Gospel" by definition means that they are not contributing to maintenance of self-determination (p. 181).

Hvalkof and Aaby cite Merrifield (on Turner's article on the Tzeltal) that the old religion was maladaptive because the Tzeltals were exploited by Ladinos and were destroying themselves through witchcraft and alcoholism. According to Turner, the new religion "enables them to take control of their lives and gain power, enlightenment, wealth, well-being, skill, affection, respect and rectitude." Hvalkof and Aaby conclude that this type of "temporal liberation" has "little to do with a society's self-determination" (p. 175).

These statements do not address the problem which arises when some members of a society want to make certain changes and other members do not. This neglect may be partly due to the fact that many of the authors take a very positive attitude toward the indigenous cultures.

SOCIAL CONCERNS

Robinson states that SIL personnel did little for the material needs of the people (p. 47) and that their Gospel is devoid of social content (p. 48). Although in the final essay Hvalkof and Aaby refer only to those with a negative viewpoint, some authors point to positive attitudes and actions by some missionaries. Vickers mentions schools, health care, the introduction of firearms and modern tools, attempts at agricultural programs, and air evacuation for serious medical cases (pp. 56, 58). Stoll (p. 67) and Arcand (p. 81) both note the high quality of medical help given to the people. Stoll also states that SIL people did what they could to help the Cuiva protect themselves (pp. 67-68). When a group of settlers massacred some Cuiva, the missionaries insisted that the government press charges (Stoll p. 67, Arcand p. 78). After the massacre some Cuiva started a new village and the missionaries provided tools and seeds for cultivation (Arcand p. 78). Rus and Wasserstrom observe that missionaries with the Chol and Tzeltal Indians in Mexico seemed genuinely distressed by the economic and political conditions of those groups and tried to aid them by assisting Protestant converts to emigrate from their ancestral communities (p. 168).

A major concern of some of the authors is the effect of government development projects on the size of Indian land holdings. Arcand accuses the missionaries who have been working with the Cuiva for ten years of having "never lifted a finger" to help them secure rights over their traditional lands, though he acknowledges that they tried to obtain official papers confirming that a rancher had granted them a small portion of his ranch for their village (p. 80). Vickers notes that SIL has worked with the Instituto Ecuadoriano de Reforma Agraria y Colonizacion to obtain a limited land grant for the Siona-Secoya (p. 60). Hahn reports that SIL personnel are opposed to land reduction in the Rikbakca area but have not actively resisted it (p. 100).

Both Vickers (p. 60) and Arcand (p. 80) express the view that SIL's relationship with national governments gives them a unique position from which to exert a powerful influence for recognition of Indian land rights. This is not easily reconciled with the many statements that SIL is in disfavor in most countries and is in the process of being expelled from some.

ATTITUDES TOWARD INDIGENOUS CULTURES

A recurrent theme is that the organic unity of tribes should not be disrupted. Some authors see the indigenous culture as almost utopian, and contact with missionaries or other representatives of the outside world as very detrimental.

Smith gives the most idyllic picture of the precontact culture. He is angry at the "confused and broken remains of a people" which resulted from missionary work among the Amuesha (p. 132). He was left with a "feeling of hopelessness" when an Indian stated that he now knows that the sun is not divine and the moon is simply a star. "His total acceptance of the Evangelist doctrine and its implied Western world view has eliminated for him all the possibilities offered by his own culture" (p. 124). The music performed to celebrate native religion is "hauntingly beautiful" (p. 123) and Smith is angry when the people sing hymns, many of which are in Spanish. New values have paralyzed the performance of music and dance at sacred occasions, and he complains that the people had a record player and all the young people "jumped into the monotonous rhythm of the popular cumbia" (p. 128). He states that their traditional religion gave their existence a "wonderful richness, and meaning" (p. 125), and he was "thrilled to witness the greeting" based on traditional religious beliefs (p. 129).

According to Hvalkof and Aaby, SIL's promotional literature gives the impression that tribes are afflicted with "witchcraft, superstitions, sickness, immorality, lack of self-respect, revenge killings, and headhunting." They state that how the people could have survived under such conditions "must remain a puzzle" (p. 173), yet they describe the persistence of societies which they say have lost all their past traditions and are living a tragic existence. They decry the characterization by Loos and Merrifield of cultural traits as either positive or negative, because "traits in themselves are neither 'good' nor 'bad,' but dependent on the total system of which they are a part" (p. 177). They also complain that missionaries present scientific explanations for illness, bad luck, food production, weather, etc. "The evil spirits which were once the cause of illness are replaced by bacteria and amoeba. This undermines the original culture's explanatory models and opens a path for the acceptance of the new religion" (p. 178).

Moore characterizes the Amarakaeri as having had "an efficient and harmonious adaptation to their natural environment, a communalistic and egalitarian form of social organization, and a rich ideological tradition which integrated all dimensions of the Amarakaeri world.... Moreover, primitive Amarakaeri individuals found a fulfillment and delineation as human persons within this natural, social, and supernatural setting to an extent which has not been equalled by the Western invaders of their world" (p. 133).

According to d'Ans, the Tayakome (Peru) community was "once free and proud and peaceful" but has tragically degenerated (p. 159).

Arcand faults missionaries for trying to stop fights, including marital ones. Although he admits that such fights can be dangerous and that sometimes people do get hurt, he believes that missionaries should not make value judgments on Cuiva society (p. 82).

Hahn does not hold that all societies are equally valid, or that those living in more direct contact with nature are superior and therefore should be maintained, but he argues that any society should have the right to choose among alternative courses of action (p. 103).

ATTITUDES OF INDIANS

The general tenor of the majority of the essays is that Indians would be better off without missionaries, but there is considerable evidence that Indians would not necessarily agree with that analysis. Although Stoll is convinced that Indians must "be liberated from SIL," he notes that if the Guahibos are used as an example, the people around an SIL team "might well regard them as allies against the grosser abuses" (p. 68). He also mentions that missionaries were forced to leave five communities in the period between 1970-1974. When they returned to three of the communities, they were "probably more appreciated than ever before" (p. 69). In 1972 anthropologists with the Colombian Indian Policy Council found that leaders of seven communities were "very much in favor of their SIL translators, for reasons reading like a catalog of SIL's good works." They appreciated having the missionaries learn their language and produce primers so they could learn to read and write in their own language, receiving medicine for the sick, being taught to extract teeth, being flown to hospitals when seriously ill, etc. (Stoll p. 69). Even when part of a given community is opposed to SIL's presence, another faction usually continues to defend it. Stoll argues that because missionaries cause chronic tension between those Indians who want them and those who do not, they should be forced to leave (p. 72).

d'Ans, in discussing the establishment of a village outside the boundaries of the National Park of Manu which would have SIL personnel, notes that "not everyone agrees to this move, but the majority do" (p. 153).

Hahn notes that few Rikbakca would be interested in restoring pre-contact life, or even parts of it. Some reject even Indian identity and are rarely concerned with restoring tradition (p. 102). They certainly were interested in obtaining the products of industrial society (p. 104).

Some Indians evidently felt that SIL was not providing enough opportunity for change, because some Amarakaeri families removed their children from the bilingual school and sent them to a town where they could study all year. They wanted the children to learn Spanish and "Peruvian" ways more quickly (Moore p. 141).

Surprisingly, Pereira accuses SIL of purposely keeping Indians isolated from national society rather than preparing them for it. The number who want "to establish themselves as peasants and thus identify themselves with a new group is constantly growing" (p. 118).

CONCLUSION

It should now be clear why I question the claim that Is God an American? is an anthropological evaluation of SIL's work. As mentioned earlier, Vickers, Hahn, Moore, and Smith use accepted anthropological methodology in their studies. Their presentations are coherent and their conclusions are essentially based on their data. Even though Smith clearly resents missionaries, he generally presents a coherent picture of what is happening to Amuesha culture. In their final essay, the editors generally ignore these articles, possibly because they provide little support for the charges that SIL is responsible for causing extreme damage to traditional cultures, and in fact, often provide refutation of such charges.

The proportion of the volume devoted to such anthropological analyses is far less than that used for questioning the motives of the missionaries and attempting to explain their presence by linking them to the CIA, United States imperialism, multinational capitalist corporations, etc. Since the latter authors assume that the reasons missionaries give for their presence in other countries are invalid and thus unacceptable, no attempt is made to relate the religious beliefs of the missionaries to their work with tribal people. Robinson even states that SIL decided "for reasons yet unknown" to concentrate their efforts in Ecuador among the tribal peoples of the tropical lowlands (p. 45), which is meaningful only if one assumes that missionaries have hidden motives for their work.

I agree with Canfield's (1983) characterization of the book as "Accusation as 'Anthropology.'" He likens the methodology to that of "McCarthyism," which entailed renewing a charge after it has been disproved, switching from one unsupported charge to another, piling allegation upon allegation to suggest excessive guilt, and challenging the accused to produce evidence of innocence. Some of the charges are patently ridiculous, e.g., that it is a well known fact that "the SIL is the laughing stock of linguistic departments even in the United States" (d'Ans p. 146). Pereira's charge that the SIL furnished information used by the Peruvian government to attack the Mayoruna Indians is so different from the account of the event given by Survival International that the editors felt it necessary to print the alternate account (which contained no mention of missionaries) in a footnote (p. 113). When a full-scale investigation of alleged clandestine activities at Lomalinda (the SIL base in Colombia) revealed no corroborating evidence, Stoll concludes that "clearly there was more here than even a special military commission had been able to uncover" (p. 73).

Hvalkof and Aaby state that SIL must bear responsibility for the various accusations and criticisms because it has "avoided taking part in debates about its activities" (p. 14), but as I have noted (Stipe 1983:115), that would be tantamount to being required to defend the Null Hypothesis. For example, if charges of conspiracy with the CIA cannot be proved, how can one expect SIL to be able to disprove them?

As an anthropologist, I object to having evaluations based on political, economic, and religious ideologies labelled anthropology.

NOTES

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AUTHORITY AND RELIGIOUS IDEOLOGY AMONG THE YORUBA[1]

J. S. EADES
University of Kent, Canterbury, England

This paper deals with the impact of the world religions, Christianity and Islam, on Yoruba social organisation. The Yoruba are one of Nigeria's largest linguistic and cultural groups, perhaps numbering as many as 15 million people in the southwestern part of the country. The area has a rich cultural and religious tradition, but despite the persistence of some aspects of traditional religious practice, including divination techniques, medical practices and communal religious festivals, the great majority of the population of the area now claims to be either Christian or Muslim. The distribution of the world religions in the area is uneven.[2] In the Ilorin area of Kwara State virtually the entire population is Muslim. In northern and western Oyo State the majority are Muslims, with a substantial Christian minority. In Ogun State the two religions are divided more evenly, while in Ondo State and the Ife and Ijesa areas of Oyo State Christianity predominates. Within each of the major religious communities there are further divisions. The Christians are divided between the large mission denominations -- Anglicans, Baptists, Methodists and Catholics -- and the various independent African and Aladura churches.[3] *The African churches broke away from the major* denominations in the early 20th century but remain close to them in ritual and organisation (Webster, 1964). The Aladura churches are the fastest growing sector of Yoruba Christianity at the moment, and in their organisation and ritual represent a more radical departure from mission models, placing an emphasis on elements which not only have biblical justification but are also close to indigenous models of religious practice -- prophetism, faith healing and divination. Yoruba Islam is perhaps both more loosely organised and less doctrinally fragmented than Yoruba Christianity,[4] though membership of Sufi brotherhoods and the followings of local Islamic teachers have created cleavages in some areas which have assumed significance in local party politics or chieftaincy disputes.

But despite these conversions, indigenous religious institutions have not disappeared. The major religious festivals are still celebrated throughout the area and members of the world religions often join in. It is true that the surviving members of many of the cults are now elderly, but in their search for solutions to everyday problems many nominal Christians and Muslims will still resort to divination and sacrifice to the main spiritual agencies of traditional Yoruba religions: the orisa and the ancestors.

Elsewhere I have argued that the vitality of a distinctively Yoruba religious belief system and world view is due to the way in which the categories of belief and practice have been retained despite the encroachment of the world religions (Eades, 1980, 143). There is enough overlap between the categories of traditional belief and those of the world religions to allow an interpretation of the latter which fits well with the traditional patterns of thought and ritual. In the case of Islam this has been helped by continuous contact between the Yoruba and their islamised northern neighbours. In the case of Christianity it was helped by the early translation of the bible into Yoruba by Crowther and others. In this paper, however, I want to concentrate on notions of leadership and authority and how these have both affected the spread of the world religions and, in turn, been modified by them.

I. THE YORUBA

The Yoruba societies into which the world religions came had already developed a considerable level of social and economic differentiation in terms of wealth, prestige, ritual status and political power. (Cf. Bascom, 1951.) Within the descent-based residential groups which formed the basis of Yoruba social and economic life, roles were allocated largely on the basis of seniority. In precolonial Yoruba society, authority was based on two main principles: seniority within the kinship group and the tenure of political office. The role of seniority in Yoruba social structure is well known. Within the Yoruba towns the main units of social organisation are the compounds (ile). The core of the residents of each compound usually consists of members of an agnatic descent group, together with their wives, children and, formerly, their slaves. Within the compound authority is based mainly on seniority, defined in terms of age for those born within the compound as member of the core group, and in terms of date of marriage for the wives of compound members. Relative seniority is reflected not only in the kinship terminology but also in the allocation of work, with the junior members taking on the harder and more tedious tasks. At the apex of the seniority structure is the bale, normally the most senior male member of the core descent group. In precolonial times when many compounds were very large the bale devoted most of his time to compound affairs and was supported by the labour of his junior kin. He was responsible for the allocation of rooms and farmland, for the adjudication of disputes and for links with the political authorities of the town.

Beyond the compound, power and authority lay in the hands of the ruler and the chiefs. The criteria for election to chiefships varied considerably between and within towns. Some offices were hereditary within descent groups, often rotating between the different segments. Others were allocated on a promotional system or were allocated on the basis of personal achievement.

Many offices which were initially allocated on other bases became vested in a particular descent group over time, and the holder of the office acted as the spokesman of his descent group in the affairs of the town. Chiefs were treated with the deference and respect due to elders and acted as mediators between descent groups and compounds within their areas of jurisdiction just as the compound head mediated between segments of his own group. Chiefs and compound heads also had ritual functions. Many of the chiefs were also heads of particular cult groups, responsible for the rituals necessary for the continued well-being of their followers, just as the bale, through rites to the ancestors or orisa, fostered the well-being of his kinsmen. Elders and chiefs were also senior members of the various cult groups in the town, the most important of which was the Ogboni cult. This brought together the most powerful and influential members of the town, and its decisions were binding on members including both chiefs and commoners.

These links between secular and ritual power were also clear in the position of the ruler or oba. His power was reinforced by the lengthy accession rituals which not only served to legitimate his secular authority but also endowed him with the magical powers enjoyed by his predecessors. The oba was, and still is, responsible for the coordination of the ritual life of the entire town, and is expected to be neutral in these matters, whatever his own religious beliefs before his accession.

To sum up, in Yoruba society prior to the spread of the world religions the locus of sacred and secular power largely overlapped. The senior chiefs and elders were men of great secular authority and also members of cult groups and possessors of knowledge of medicine, magic, curses and spells acquired both to further and protect their hard-won positions. Wealth, seniority, ritual status, political and spiritual power thus tended to overlap and reinforce each other, a situation which was modified by the arrival of the world religions.

First it appears that in many instances converts to the world religions were to some extent outside the regular structures of authority relations in Yoruba society. In the case of Islam many of the early Muslims in Yorubaland were northern strangers and slaves (Gbadamosi, 1978,6) while the early Christians included the Saro, from Sierra Leone but of Yoruba origin (Kopytoff, 1965), and the poor (Iliffe, 1983). Peel found that many early members of the Aladura churches were educated urban migrants, detached from their home communities and traditions (Peel, 1968). Some of the early converts, however, became wealthy and powerful and organised their families and households in much the same way as other wealthy and powerful Yoruba. Their religion came to be shared by their junior relatives and other dependents.

However, Islam and Christianity not only brought with them new ways of understanding the world, but also new "blueprints" of social organisation, which in some cases coincided with, and in others were in conflict with those current in Yoruba society. The koran and the bible could now be cited to legitimate new kinds of behavior. The conflict which resulted was perhaps more acute in the case of Christianity, based as it was on models of social organisation derived from the European world and interpreted by a professional cadre of European missionaries in the light of their own socialization and experience. The structure of authority relations within Yoruba congregations, the existence of this alternative set of social blueprints, and the contexts in which they were invoked, form the themes of the remainder of this paper. The next section deals with an instance of church fission among Yoruba migrants in northern Ghana where I carried out my own fieldwork. In the third section the insights gained by this case study are explored using comparative material on the development of Christianity and Islam elsewhere in Yorubaland. Finally in the conclusion the theoretical implications of this material are assessed.

II. A CHURCH IN NORTHERN GHANA[5]

Until 1969, when most of them left the country as a result of the Ghanaian Government's "compliance order", there were probably about 200,000 people of Yoruba descent in Ghana. Most of them were involved in petty trade and they had spread both to the markets of the large towns and to the most remote rural areas of the country (Sudarkasa, 1975; 1979; Hundsalz, 1973). One of the more striking features of the Yoruba migration to Ghana was the way in which migrants from the same town in Nigeria were clustered in the same towns in Ghana. In Kumasi the largest group was from Ogbomoso while in Accra they were from Ilorin. In Tamale, where my research was carried out, most of the Yoruba migrants were from the four towns of Ogbomoso, Igbeti, Igboho and Saki (Eades, 1975). The pattern was one of chain migration in which a successful trader would recruit junior relatives to help him or her in trade. Usually the trader would be responsible for arranging the marriages of his assistants and for providing them with capital to set up in trade on their own account (Eades, 1979). Thus not only migrants from the same towns were clustered together, but also migrants from the same compounds within those towns. The most influential men in the Yoruba community were the senior members of these clusters of kin who were usually among the wealthiest traders in the market. Not all the Yoruba were traders however. Over the years many had been unsuccessful in trade and had drifted off into alternative occupations. Many of the children of the initial migrants had been to school and had moved into a wider range of occupations including clerical and government work.

Despite the fact that the migrants came from a culturally homogeneous area, town of origin was still extremely important in their social lives. The most important institutions within the Yoruba community were the branches of the town unions which linked Yoruba from the same town with home and with migrants in other areas. The migrants from each town formed virtually endogamous groups. The importance of town of origin is also evident in the history of the Yoruba churches which developed in Tamale.

Of the 2000 or so Yoruba in Tamale in 1969, perhaps a third were Christians, reflecting the relative strength of the two world religions in the part of northern Oyo State from which they came. Nearly all the Saki migrants were Muslims, but migrants from Ogbomoso, Igbeti and Igboho were divided more evenly between Christianity and Islam. While the Yoruba Muslims were well integrated into the religious life of the town, the majority of the local northern Ghanaians being Muslim, the Yoruba Christians were rather more isolated. The three churches which most of them attended, the First and Second Baptist Churches and the United Mission Church (UMCA) held services in Yoruba and attracted few Ghanaians. The Baptist Church is the leading denomination in the northern Yoruba towns from which the majority of the Yoruba migrants to Ghana came, and the Baptist Church in Ghana only became established because of the Yoruba presence there. The only exception to this Baptist supremacy was the town of Igbeti where the main denomination is the United Missionary Society. The Igbeti Christians in Tamale had set up a United Mission church there, though in terms of doctrines, ritual and organisation it was very similar to the two Baptist churches.

Yoruba church organisation in Ghana was closely modeled on that in the home towns. One of its most important features was the division of the congregation into egbe or associations which brought together men or women of broadly similar age. It was through the egbe that the collection of money for the church was organised, and all the members of a particular egbe were expected to contribute a similar amount. The egbe met every week, and part from the collection of dues, discussed matters of common interest to the members or settled any disputes which had arisen between them. The egbe also played a prominent part in individual member's rites of passage -- naming ceremonies, marriages and funerals. Each egbe had its own officials -- chairman, secretary, treasurer etc.

The main church functions were the two Sunday services, but there were also weekly prayer meetings, bible study sessions and choir practices. The more energetic younger members of the church could regularly spend four or five evenings a week involved in church activities. Less regular special events included the annual harvest festival and choir festivals to which representatives from other churches would be invited.

If an understanding of the church organisation is essential for an understanding of the tensions and conflicts which arose within it, so is an understanding of the personalities of the leaders of the First and Second Baptist Churches in Tamale. Isaac Ogundiran, the chairman of the First Baptist Church committee, was one of the most conspicious members of the Yoruba community. He was a large man with a resonant voice, and a wealthy trader. He was also one of the few Yoruba of his age group with primary school education, and was a senior member of the largest Christian family from Ogbomoso in Tamale. There was an element of rivalry in his relationship with Luke, the most senior member of the family. Luke's social life revolved around the Ogbomoso town union, the other Yoruba elders in Tamale and the local traditional elite. Isaac spent most of his time with other literate businessmen and government employees. In 1969 he was also the leading figure in the church, and in the absence of a full-time pastor, he effectively ran it, doing most of the preaching and decided the main aspects of church policy. The other members of the church committee rarely challenged his decisions.

Caleb Olawole, the leader of the Second Baptist church, was entirely different. Unlike Isaac, he was one of the poorest Yoruba traders in Tamale and was kept in business largely through the help of his friends who were willing to advance him credit. The other leaders of the church were also relatively poor: they included Alade, a tailor who had twice failed to become established in trade, Ajayi, a part-time driver, and Alamu who taught in the small school attached to the church. All four of these men had chronic financial difficulties and the only noticeably wealthy member of the Second Baptist church was a trader from Ilesa who owned a store at the military barracks outside the town.

As a result of the differences in wealth between their leading members the services in the two churches differed markedly in style. The congregation of the Second Baptist Church was much smaller than that of the First Baptist Church, and there was none of the ostentation in dress apparent in the First Church. While the theme of sermons in the First Church tended to revolve around the misuse of wealth, the message in the Second Church was that the poor could expect their reward in the Kingdom of Heaven. Caleb and his friends obviously found solace in their church activities which provided them with the bulk of their social life, and it was probably only this network of friends which prevented them from returning to Nigeria.

The Establishment of Yoruba Churches in Tamale

The first Yoruba Christians in Tamale had come mainly from Ogbomoso. They started to hold meetings in the late 1920s. By 1939 they had started to hold regular services in a rented room. They built their first church in 1947 and a larger one in 1963. The first pastor was D. A. Alasade who remained with them until after the second world war. After a difference of opinion he left and founded a church on the Bolgatanga road. In 1969 this was run by the American Baptist Missionary in Tamale and had a mainly Ghanaian congregation. The pattern of a large Yoruba congregation coexisting with a small Ghanaian congregation in the same town was typical of the Baptist Church in Ghana. The foundation of the two other Yoruba churches in Tamale came rather later.

After an interval, Alasade was succeeded by Pastor Adeyemi, a graduate of the Ogbomoso Baptist Seminary. It was during his term of office that preaching stations were established in and around Tamale. A group of the younger men on the church committee took it in turns to go out to the villages to preach, as well as in the prison and hospital in Tamale itself. However, Adeyemi was not popular among some of the older members of the congregation from Ogbomoso and Igboho, mainly because of his opposition to polygnists serving on the church committees. Polygynous elders like Luke saw that this would undermine their influence. In the end, the issue caused so much trouble in the congregation that Adeyemi returned to the Seminary in 1956.

It was also during Pastor Adeyemi's time that the UMCA church was formed. The United Missionary Church for Africa, founded in 1922, was the oldest and largest church in Igbeti. At first the Igbeti Christians in Tamale had attended the Baptist Church, but they felt that Adeyemi was pressuring them into formal membership. They wrote to the United Missionary Society in Nigeria to ask if a pastor could be sent to Tamale, and they broke away to form their own church. Apart from a small congregation in Damongo this was the only UMCA church in Ghana, though in forms of service, doctrine and organisation the two groups of Yoruba Christians in Tamale were very similar.

Adeyemi's successor, Pastor Ladele, got on better with the elders but less well with the younger men who complained to the mission when he decided to discontinue the preaching stations. They were suspended by the church elders. American and Nigerian mission officials, with some sympathy for the younger members, attempted to mediate, but more trouble erupted the following year when allegations of adultery within the congregation made matters worse. A split which resulted in the formation of the Second Baptist church soon followed.

According to the First Baptist Church leaders the main argument was over polygyny. According to the Second Baptist Church leaders it was the issue of adultery. Having been suspended once, they decided to form their own church. Many of the younger, more educated, members of the congregation were in sympathy with them, but pressure was put on them by their senior relatives to remain in the main church, and only nine actually left. Soon after this the polygynous elders quietly retired from the church committees. Ogundiran remained on it. Pastor Ladele stayed in Tamale until 1964. The Second Baptist Church, though small, survived and gradually increased in size, and in 1969 its members had just completed a new building.

After a year Ladele was succeeded by another evangelical pastor who fell out with Ogundiran almost as soon as he arrived. Ogundiran, as chairman of the church committee, had effectively been running the church since Ladele's departure, and he now refused to take any part. The new pastor, however, was having problems with his marriage and left in 1967. Ogundiran took over again as chairman, a position he held until the exodus.

Although much of this history of the First Baptist Church on the surface appears to be a simple clash of personalities between leading church members and successive pastors, the structural aspects of the conflict are also worth considering. The first thing to note is the multiplex nature of the ties between members of the church. The majority of the adult members worked in the market, came from the same two towns in Nigeria, and were members of large groups of kin linked through marriage and friendship networks. For many of the members the church provided the focus of their social lives not only on Sundays but throughout the week. Thus for many the networks of kinship, friendship, occupation and church membership overlapped, and different norms and values in each of these areas of social life could give rise to conflict. The leaders of the Yoruba community both in the home towns and in Ghana were the wealthy senior traders, many of whom had several wives. In Tamale these elders were the founders of the church in the 1920s and 1930s, and they contributed heavily to its finances. Small wonder, then, that they should object to seeing their authority, unchallenged in other areas of Yoruba social life, being undermined by the junior members of the church who claimed positions of leadership on the basis of literacy and adherence to the norms and values of church membership as defined by the evangelical mission. At the start the church meetings had been informal and were presided over by the elders. The pastors who took over the church later on were more aware of the norms of mission Christianity with its hostility towards polygamy and its emphasis on evangelism outside the Yoruba congregation. The conflict over evangelism was not confined to the Baptist church: in 1969 the UMCA minister was also complaining that this congregation was apathetic about continuing with the preaching stations in the outlying villages.

For the individual migrants the Yoruba churches in Ghana acted as adaptive mechanisms, allowing them to enter into a ready-made social network on their arrival in the town, and they acted as supportive institutions for their members in a variety of ways. It was within the friendship networks that grew out of the organisations that the migrants spent much of their social lives. Second, they helped the migrants maintain both links with home and with other migrants from the same town in other parts of Ghana. Along with this went the maintenance of Yoruba cultural identity. Whereas in Schildkrout's study of Kumasi (1978) the second generation

Mossi migrants adopted zongo rather than Mossi associational patterns, the Yoruba in Tamale were involved in organisations which were modeled on, and which had close links with the social institutions of the home town. Membership thus reinforced both cultural identity and links with home.

Third, these organisations provided a framework within which individuals could organise their social lives and obtain status and respect within the Yoruba community. It was this factor which led to the strains and stresses in the First Baptist Church in particular. Gradually the church had developed out of the informal meetings of the early Yoruba migrants in Tamale and into a formal organisation with a professional pastor. It was this development which brought about the clashes of values and personalities which were visible from the time of Pastor Alasade onwards. The clashes between church doctrine and traditional Yoruba values are most evident in the dispute over polygyny, but there were implications for the authority structure of the church which went beyond this. On the one hand, the "big men" in the Yoruba community, the senior and wealthier traders, considered it their right to control the institutions which operated within the Yoruba community. For the younger members, the poor and the educated, church membership provided an alternative status system independent of the traditional Yoruba status determinants of age and wealth. These groups defined prestige in terms of doctrinal fluency, participation in church activities, and acceptance of Baptist teachings where they conflicted with Yoruba values. This was particularly so in their acceptance of monogamy and the need to evangelise outside the Yoruba community. The older conservatives in the church were the wealthy traders, the heads of large family groups, who had been the original members of the congregation. In the home town associations, which they had also started, their influence and prestige were unchallenged. In the case of the church, however, they found their authority being undermined by much younger men, openly critical of the senior members and gaining a large degree of support from the pastor and the mission. The radicals of the 1950s were much younger men, many of whom were either unsuccessful in trade or not involved in trade at all: thus the importance for them of church membership as a framework for their social lives. It was these men who were enthusiastic about the preaching stations and other church activities which the elders regarded as a waste of time.

This points in microcosm to the dilemma of the Baptist Church in Ghana. On the one hand it was trying to establish roots among Ghanaians and on the other the overwhelming majority of its members were Nigerian migrants. The Yoruba ran their churches in the same way and in the same language as they had done in Nigeria: membership in the Baptist Church was part of their Yoruba identity. In the case of the First Baptist Church this conflict of interests was reflected in the departure of the first pastor in the 1940s, in the opposition to the preaching stations in the 1950s, and in the split which led to the formation of the Second Baptist Church in 1959. It was, however, not only an issue in the Baptist Churches. The minister of the UMCA complained to me that his congregation did not appear to be interested in their own preaching stations which he himself was anxious to keep going.

The position of Ogundiran in all this was ambiguous. Like the leaders of the Second Baptist Church he was literate, monogamous, and an able preacher. But he was also wealthy and a member of one of the largest groups of Ogbomoso migrants. Thus he regarded his leadership of the church as important for his own position in the Yoruba community, but was not particularly interested in evangelising outside it. It was this parochialism combined with his steady refusal to play a secondary role which resulted in many of the tensions visible in the church in 1969.

To summarise. In the Yoruba towns involved in the migration to Ghana, Christianity and Islam spread rapidly in those descent groups whose members were most actively involved in migrant trade elsewhere in West Africa. Conversion to the world religions enabled the migrants to fit into a ready-made social network in the places where they settled, a network which extended beyond the boundaries of the ethnic group. As the expansion of trade involved the development of clusters of kin, it was natural that the Baptist Church in Tamale should have developed around these clusters, and that their senior members should have had the major say in its development. The expansion of the church had two further implications, however. First it became more firmly attached to the Baptist Mission and a succession of professional pastors were appointed. Second, within it there were Yoruba migrants who were either no longer involved in trade or who were not members of the large Yoruba family clusters. Because of their marginality they put most of their energy into the church and were attracted by those elements of Christianity which seemed to relate most clearly to their position. These were also elements stressed by the European missionaries -- particularly church teachings on marriage, wealth and evangelism. Their appointment to the church committees set the stage for the struggle between the church elders who based their position on kinship and seniority, and the younger more marginal members who based their position on doctrinal criteria as defined by the mission. In the resulting conflict, many church members felt an acute clash of loyalties but eventually backed away from secession, largely thanks to the social and financial pressures which the elders could exert upon them.

The next section traces similar themes -- authority structures and rival sources of legitimacy -- in other work on the world religions among the Yoruba.

III. PATTERNS OF CONFLICT IN THE WORLD RELIGIONS IN YORUBALAND

Yoruba Islam

Islam was established among the Yoruba much earlier than Christianity, particularly in the northern kingdoms like Oyo which were closer to events in Nupe and Hausaland. The religion suffered a setback in the early 19th century when the Oyo kingdom collapsed. Many of the Muslims fled to Ilorin which fell under Fulani Muslim rule in the 1820s, and there was some persecution of Muslims who remained. However, by the mid 19th century Islam had started to spread throughout Yorubaland once more, and Oyo and Ibadan were to have Muslim rulers by the end of the century. The wars to some extent helped: refugees were the starting point for new communities of Muslims and Islamic amulets were much in demand to protect the combatants. The end of the wars saw the extension of British rule from the coast, and this provided more settled conditions under which Islam could spread even more rapidly.

Like Christianity, Islam is a religion in which leadership can be achieved through literacy and doctrinal fluency. What happens when the religion spreads to an area in which leadership is traditionally based on seniority, wealth and genealogical position?

In the early Yoruba Muslim communities such as Oyo, Igboho, Ogbomoso and Osogbo, the head of the Muslim community had effectively been the Parakoyi, a chiefship title generally associated with the control of trade in Yoruba states. The link between trade and migrant Muslim communities is obvious (Gbademosi, 1978, 6-7). By the mid-19th century, however, with increasing knowledge of Islamic institutions (Gbademosi, 1978, 37) leadership of the Muslim community came to rest with the Imam, a permanent office held for life, like most Yoruba chiefship titles.

> "In essence, the Imam was with the Yoruba Muslim community what the Oba or the Bale was with traditional Yoruba society." (Gbademosi, 1978, 39)

The other main offices developing were those of the Onitafusiru, Balogun and Ladan (Muezzin). The Onitafusiru was elected on the basis of his knowledge of Islam, while the others were chosen on the basis of age, status and piety. Not only was the title of Balogun borrowed from the Oyo political system: so were the rules by which these Muslim officials were appointed, and the rules varied from town to town, in line with the local political system. Islamic titles proliferated as the number of converts grew -- often they included the Naibi (the Imam's deputy), Otun and Osi Balogun, Baba Adini, Asipa, Seriki and Sarumi (Gbademosi, 1978, 57). In Abeokuta the titles were distributed along township lines, as were other political offices. Ibadan adopted a promotional ladder system, and in a number of towns the office of Imam became vested in a particular descent group. With the wider spread of Islamic literacy in the 20th century, however, there was pressure for change and gradually a candidate's knowledge of Islam became more important in selecting a new Imam than his descent group (Gbademosi, 1972). The conflict between acquired knowledge and hereditary status in electing the Imam was resolved in favour of the former. Other Muslim titles however continued to remain vested within descent groups.

Early Yoruba Christianity

Missionaries arrived in Yorubaland in the 1840s and much of our knowledge of the political events in the interior during the subsequent decades comes from their accounts. Initially, African converts tended to be from relatively marginal groups -- the poor, the strangers and the Saro returnees from Sierra Leone who provided most of the early CMS clergy. However, the children of the early converts tended to remain Christian, and the characteristic pattern of lineage based religious affiliation started to develop in towns like Ibadan and Abeokuta. With the arrival of British rule in Lagos and its gradual extension to the interior, Christianity took on a new function as the major source of educational opportunity and this facilitated the spread of the religion in the early 20th century.

Yoruba patterns of social organisation affected not only the spread of religion but also patterns of persecution where it occurred. Iliffe's work on the CMS archives suggests that, unlike Buganda or Madagascar, persecution of Christians by the state was very rare in Yorubaland (Iliffe, 1983). The best known attack on Christians was the Ifole (lit. "housebreaking") riot in Abeokuta in 1867, but the degree of violence was limited and was much less severe than, for instance, in the persecution of Muslims earlier in the century. (Cf Gbademosi, 1978, 8-13.) The Ifole was as much an expression of political protest as of religious disapproval. What incidents of persecution Iliffe did discover were usually attempts by non-Christian elders to reassert their authority over 'rebellious' younger members of their descent groups.

As larger congregations of Christians developed in Lagos and the other major towns, Yoruba Christianity entered on a new phase. As Ajayi has documented (1965), the position of the Saro clergy was under attack at the end of the 19th century as a new generation of evangelical European missionaries called for the imposition of European leadership in the church in the name of (European definitions of) morality. The shabby treatment of leading members of the African clergy, including Bishop James Johnson, by the mission authorities, caused considerable discontent among the congregation, particularly at St. Paul's Breadfruit Church in Lagos, where Johnson was the pastor (Webster, 1964, 73-8). Johnson was an outspoken man in an ambivalent position. There were two major issues in church affairs at the time: polygyny and leadership. Polygyny was a fundamental organisational principle in Yoruba society, but in 1888 a Lambeth ruling had proscribed the institution. On the question of church leadership the attitude of the missions was increasingly to 'tighten up morality' by discrediting the work of the Saro clergy and by replacing them with European officials. African church leaders like Johnson were under great pressure from the laity to break away and found their own churches, but most of the Saro clergy remained loyal to the mission. Many in the congregation, however, did decide to break away, and the result was the start of the African church movement. The secession in the Anglican CMS was paralleled by events among both Baptists and Methodists.

The early history of Christianity among the Yoruba therefore illustrates a number of variations on the themes outlined above. At first the introduction of the religion was resisted by elders trying to maintain control among their younger relatives, but, as Iliffe makes clear, once the religion was established within particular families, the Christian elders were just as authoritarian as their traditionalist and Muslim counterparts. Second, the code of behaviour which Christian leaders, especially expatriates, advocated was increasingly resented by the growing congregations, especially the church's position on polygyny and its attitude towards the African clergy. The position of the clergy was ambivalent, but in the end most of them remained loyal to the missions. Thus the African churches, when they came into being, had a important tradition of lay leadership, which has been a major feature of Yoruba Christianity up to the present time.

The African Churches

If the early struggles in the mission churches were over European versus indigenous leadership and notions of morality, the same issues were to haunt the African churches in their subsequent development. As Webster puts it, the debate was between two main groups of churchmen: a "church" group based on Lagos and an "evangelical" group based on Agege (1964, 118-124). The church group grew up in urban Lagos among people committed to European values and regarding African customs and beliefs as "unprogressive". The split with the missions had come about because of the leadership issue. Other mission policies -- on education, organisation and ritual -- were largely accepted. "Church" leaders hoped for recognition of the African churches by, and for eventual unity with, the mission churches. In the interests of "respectability" they only tolerated polygyny and encouraged monogamy. Evangelical leadership grew up, on the other hand, around the plantations at Agege, and the evangelical leaders had more sympathy with African values and social institutions. For them the split with the missions had taken place not only because of the leadership issue but also because the European missions had devalued African social institutions such as polygyny and so had undermined the whole basis of morality. Thus the evangelical members of the African churches placed no restrictions on the numbers of wives of their members or even the clergy. They were more closely in touch with events in the interior, from which the supplies of plantation labour came, and they used these contacts to organise a remarkably successful programme of evangelisation over wide areas of Yorubaland, despite confrontation and occasional persecution at the hands of members of the established churches.

The struggle between the two schools of thought was epitomised by the personal rivalry between A. W. Thomas, the Deputy Registrar of the Lagos Supreme Court and a Lagos merchant, and J. K. Coker, the leading Agege planter and evangelist. They were the wealthiest men in the African church movement, and were the protagonists in factional conflict which lasted until 1921 and which resulted in occasional violence and a number of complex law suits. It centred around control of the Bethel Church in Lagos (Webster, 1964, 161-186). The leaders of the factions built up and maintained followings by manipulating their wealth and their family ties. Their wealth, the key factor, enabled them to extend loans to potential followers and so secure their loyalty, together with that of their families. Coker lost much of his influence when he suffered bankruptcy in 1905, while Thomas's position similarly suffered in the financial crash of 1921. The networks of patronage, loyalty and debt which they created were typical of those operating in Yoruba political life in general. The church had become yet another arena in which the big men in the community could compete for prestige and influence.

The Aladura Movement

While the African churches developed out of discontent with European mission organisation, the Aladura churches developed to meet some of the needs of Yoruba Christians which were not being met within the mission churches. The name Aladura itself is derived from the word adura meaning 'prayer', and 'praying churches' is an apt description of these congregations. The founders of the Aladura churches formed praying bands within the mission churches, and they only separated when their activities were seen as unorthodox by the mission authorities.

The major difference lies in their approach to the problems of everyday life as seen by the members. Whereas the traditional Yoruba cults and Islam were able to offer healing techniques, protection against witches and knowledge of the future, mission Christianity did not. The missions tended to stress the importance of salvation in the next world rather than solving the problems of this, in direct contrast with the instrumental nature of Yoruba indigenous religion. The Aladura prophet, on the other hand, by interpreting dreams and visions and by faith healing, performs a role similar to that of the Islamic alufa or Yoruba babalawo, the Ifa diviner. Most of the converts to the Aladura churches seem to have come not from Islam or Yoruba cults but from the mission churches. There is also a continuity in personnel with the established churches. Isaac Akinyele, the leader of the Christ Apostolic Church and, for many years, the traditional ruler of Ibadan, was a member of one of the oldest Christian families in Ibadan: his brother was a bishop. Other Aladura leaders are related to the Agege planters and to the Anglican elite in Abeokuta (Peel, 1968).

As with the African churches, there is a difference of leadership style between individual leaders and their congregations. Mitchell (1970) distinguishes between the "spiritualist" and "apostolic" aladura churches. In the spiritualist churches the key role is that of the prophet. There has always been a role in Yoruba religion for ecstatic forms of religious experience involving spirit possession, trance and prophetic utterance, and aladura prophets thus have something in common with the possession priests of the indigenous cults. However one result of this reliance on charismatic leadership is a rapid rate of church fission as disgruntled prophets have withdrawn with their followers to found their own churches. This has been most evident in the Cherubim and Seraphim churches, which originated with a praying band which separated from the CMS in Lagos in 1925. Within a couple of years there had been a rift between two of the early leaders, Abiodum, the girl whose visions had led to the formation of the band, and an itinerant prophet called Moses Orimolade. The rift was never healed, and offshoots have proliferated ever since.

The other major group of Aladura churches discussed by Mitchell are the 'apostolic' churches, the largest of which is the Christ Apostolic Church, the third largest church in western Nigeria. Though the dividing line is not rigid, the apostolic churches tend to put more emphasis on the role of the pastor rather than that of the prophet, and are closer to the mission churches in their organisation and ritual. The number of secessions within these churches has also been rather less. The Christ Apostolic Church is unusual among the independent African churches in prohibiting polygamy, as well as in its rigid opposition to the use of any form of medicine, whether western or traditional, in the treatment of disease. All the emphasis is on the power of prayer. It is also the Aladura church most heavily involved in educational work, again following the pattern established by the mission churches.

The major difference between the Aladura churches and the other cases discussed so far is the nature of externally derived authority. Whereas with Islam and Yoruba mission Christianity authority derives from external mission imposed norms and values, in the Aladura churches, and especially the spiritualist churches such as the Cherubim and Seraphim and its many offshoots, prophets base their legitimacy directly on biblical precedents, but in doing so they come close to roles and behaviour patterns to be found in indigenous Yoruba religion.

However, the evidence is that as these churches have consolidated their membership, over two generations in some areas, they have increasingly come to resemble the other Yoruba churches. Their members now come ranging from a wide spectrum of social classes and occupations, from agriculture to university teaching and the professions. Membership is increasingly based on kinship affiliation (Omoyajowo, 1976, 99). Patterns of associational structure are similar to those in other churches, while in the use of Yoruba music and dance in the liturgy the Aladura Christians have tended to lead the way.

The link with the other examples discussed above is the way in which initially marginal religious groups have, over time, developed into congregations in which leadership and authority are largely based on models to be found throughout the rest of Yoruba society. There is still a potential tension between Yoruba social norms and those of Aladura ideology, but the latter involves not norms and values imposed from outside by European missionaries but the claims of charismatic prophets. When these claims are given full rein, as in the Cherubim and Seraphim churches, the result is rapid schism. Where they are more controlled, as in the Christ Apostolic church, larger denominations tend to develop with doctrines and practices rather more similar to those of the longer-established churches.

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of the ways in which the norms of Yoruba social organisation tend to reassert themselves comes from the utopian communes which developed in the coastal areas of Ondo state, the best-known of which is Aiyetoro (Barrett, 1977). Aiyetoro was founded by a group of persecuted Aladura members in the late 1940s and they developed a unique system of communal work, communal ownership and communal living. During certain periods marriage and the nuclear family were virtually abolished, and the village achieved a level of economic development and a standard of living which was one of the highest in West Africa. However, this prosperity soon evaporated, as the communal labour system broke up, economic individualism returned and the family was re-established. The level of prosperity achieved by the villagers and the ability of successive rulers were unable to erase the underlying patterns of Yoruba social organisation, and within a generation these patterns had been reintroduced: Aiyetoro looks increasingly like other villages in the area and its patterns of social organisation have increasingly reverted to the local norm.

CONCLUSION

What I am suggesting in this paper is that underlying the diversity of Yoruba responses to the penetration of the world religions are a number of common elements and themes. In the initial stages of penetration the number of converts tends to be small, and they tend to include people marginal in one way or another to the rest of the community. In the 19th century Christianity and Islam proved attractive to Saro returnees, migrants from the north and the poor alike. In the 20th century they proved attractive to the growing number of migrants in the towns of Nigeria. In the early stages of development the congregations of worshippers had sect-like characteristics -- close interaction within the group, little interaction with outsiders, and a distinctive set of values and behaviour patterns. As the congregations have grown, however, the pattern has been gradually modified. Over time the recruitment of new, younger, members produces stratification and often associational divisions in terms of age. In the cases of Yoruba Christianity and Islam, patterns of leadership based on age and hereditary office have tended to develop within the world religions, reflecting the organisational principles of the rest of Yoruba society. Even in the rare cases like Aiyetoro where there has been a conscious rejection of these patterns, they have still tended to resurface.

However, the new religions have come from outside, and have brought with them new models of behaviour and social organisation which may at times be at variance with local norms. The conflict has been greater in the case of Christianity than in that of Islam, particularly over the polygyny issue, even though for political reasons the persecution of Muslims was at times more severe than that of Christians ever was. A major issue in Yoruba Islam, however, has been the election and position of the Imam, where Yoruba models of hereditary and permanent office have been in conflict with orthodox Islamic tradition.

A similar issue has arisen within Yoruba Christianity where church members, like those in Tamale, have claimed positions of leadership not only on the basis of their wealth, family membership and seniority, but also in terms of their doctrinal fluency, elements highly valued by the mission authorities. In the Aladura churches the claim to leadership has often been based on the supposed possession of spiritual gifts, but the result is similar: rapid fission and the proliferation of new organisations.

A final issue which seems to arise repeatedly is that of the attitude of the congregation towards the outside world. Unlike the indigenous Yoruba cults, both of the world religions regard themselves as having a monopoly of spiritual truth, and there is a strong tradition of militant proselytisation in both. The tension in Tamale was between the professional pastors and some of the members who felt an obligation to evangelise outside the church and beyond the ethnic boundary, and the church elders who were primarily concerned with their position within the church and the ethnic community. A similar tension can be found in the debate between the "church" and evangelical factions in the African churches, a cleavage which could also be related to differences in the geographical and economic positions of the members.

In conclusion one can reiterate the point that the social relations of religion are only part of the wider social fabric. What is obvious from the Yoruba material is the way in which wider patterns of social organisation tend to reassert themselves in religious institutions, despite the attempts at reform introduced by those claiming legitimacy on the basis of an externally derived religious tradition. It is the conflict which derives from this confrontation of opposed models which provides Yoruba religious organisation with much of its vitality and fascination.

NOTES

1. This paper arises out of some of the material and ideas of an earlier paper (Eades, 1977). The fieldwork in Northern Ghana and Western Nigeria on which it was based was carried out in 1969-71 and was financed by a Hayter Studentship from the Department of Education and Science and a Smuts Studentship from the University of Cambridge.

2. Peel (1967) provides data on this distribution based on the 1952-3 census. The major change since then has been the advance of Christianity and Islam at the expense of indigenous Yoruba religion.

3. The major sources on Aladura Christianity in Western Nigeria include Turner (1967), Peel (1968), Mitchell (1970) and Omoyajowo (1976).

4. It is also less well documented. The major study is that of Gbadamosi (1978).

5. For a fuller account of the Yoruba churches in Tamale, see Eades (1977).

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THE EFFECTS OF MISSIONIZATION ON CULTURAL IDENTITY IN TWO SOCIETIES

DANIEL T. HUGHES
Ohio State University

INTRODUCTION

In March of 1975 a group of anthropologists, historians, and missionaries gathered at Stuart, Florida for a three-day symposium on missionary activity in Oceania. It proved to be a most intellectually stimulating and rewarding experience. During the symposium and in the book, Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania (Boutilier, Hughes, & Tiffany 1978) that followed many aspects of the missionization process were probed and discussed, and a great deal of light was shed on this very complex phenomenon. However, I would agree with the observation made by Sione Latukefu in the concluding chapter of that book (1978:463). While praising the various authors for their contributions, Latukefu lamented the fact that there had not been more of an attempt "to discuss the religious aspects of conversion in depth." He expressed the hope that future researchers would "focus more directly on this phenomenon and perhaps devise some techniques for determining what Christian belief really means to adherents of Christianity in Oceania."

I think that Latukefu is correct. If we are to enhance our understanding of the missionization process, we should focus more attention on the religious aspect of this process. We have to ask how the basic Christian concepts of the universal fatherhood of God, of the unbounded love of God and his redeeming Son, and of divine presence within the Christian faithful are incorporated into the worldviews of converts. Equally important, we must ask how their lives (individually and collectively) are affected by the acceptance of these concepts.

The present paper will by no means attempt to answer these questions. It will merely discuss some ways of examining them with the intention of stimulating discussion and further study and analysis by others. The paper will begin with a brief explanation of the concept of identity change as developed by Goodenough and will then attempt to use this concept in a tentative analysis of the effects of Christian conversion in the Philippines and on Ponape, two societies in which I have done fieldwork.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION AND IDENTITY CHANGE

In his book, Cooperation in Change (1963:219), Goodenough says that religious conversion involves a change of identity. He claims that a true religious conversion involves "a change in a person's conception of self and in how he feels about himself as a person, so that he can no longer be satisfied with his identity as it was, but feels compelled to repudiate it in favor as a new one more in keeping with his ego-ideals." In that book Goodenough is actually analyzing community development. He says that community development involves changes on various levels of people's lives, but on the deepest level it involves a change in individual and in community identity parallel to that experienced in religious conversion. Community development literature stresses that development must come from within, that development is something that the people must want and must accomplish for themselves. Religious missionaries preach a similar message. "They may differ from agents of community development in the content of their programs and the doctrines by which they rationalize them, but not in their psychological objective, which is a new image of self and world and a new sense of purpose and accomplishment...But we must face up to what this implies. The psychology of identity change does not vary according to the god or message in whose name such change is undertaken" (Goodenough 1963:219).

Surely Goodenough is correct in observing the parallel between the change involved in community development and that involved in religious conversion. Therefore we should be able to comprehend the process of religious conversion more thoroughly by applying some concepts that Goodenough employs in his analysis of community development. In this paper I will use the concepts of personal culture and community culture as defined by Goodenough. Culture, according to Goodenough (1963:258), includes standards for perceiving, predicting, judging, and acting. There are both personal (private) cultures and community (public) cultures. A personal culture is a set of standards according to which an individual perceives, predicts, judges, and acts. The personal culture of any individual will include a number of different operating cultures, which are standards of perceiving, etc. under specific contexts and with respect to the individual's present purposes. Community culture, on the other hand, is the generalized or common way of perceiving, etc. which any member of a community attributes to all other members of the community. In brief, Goodenough sees community development at its deepest level as attempting to accomplish changes in the operating cultures of individuals in a community on a broad enough scale to assure changes in their public or community culture. That is, community development attempts ultimately to change standards of perceiving, predicting, etc. for entire communities.

"SPLIT-LEVEL CHRISTIANITY" IN THE PHILIPPINES

One of the best analyses of the impact of Christianity on Philippine culture is found in the article, "Split-Level Christianity" by Bulatao (1967). Bulatao begins by telling the story of a pious parrot that had been given as a gift to the mother superior of a convent. The mother superior showed the parrot to the other nuns with great pride. She pulled one leg and with down cast eyes the parrot recited the "Hail Mary" in English. Then she pulled the other leg, and with equal devotion, the pious parrot recited the entire "Our Father" in English. While the mother superior was still gloating with pride over her new pet, one of the younger nuns wondered what would happen if she pulled both legs of the parrot at the same time. So she proceeded to do so, hard. At that point the parrot shouted in Tagalog: "Putres, madadapa ako! (Damn, You'll make me fall!)"

Butatao (1967:16) says that the story invariably brings a response of laughter from Filipino audiences because it rings so true as a reflection of the special behavior that Filipinos exhibit in formal settings and in the presence of authority figures and of the occasional breakthrough of a more spontaneous standard of behavior. Also Bulatao feels that the story is correct in linking the foreign language to the formalized standard of behavior and the native language with more spontaneous standards, since the formal standards are conditioned by the school where English is predominant and the informal standards are conditioned by the home and the streets where the native tongue is predominant.

Bulatao labels this phenomenon of two sets of learned reflexes in Filipinos as "split-level Christianity." He describes split-level Christianity as

> the co-existence within the same person of two or more thought-and-behavior systems which are inconsistent with each other. The image is of two apartments at different levels, each of which contains a family, the one rarely talking to the other. So it is with the splitleveled person: at one level he professes allegiance to ideas, attitudes and ways of behaving which are mainly borrowed from the Christian West, at another level he holds convictions which are more properly his "own" ways of living and believing which were handed down from his ancestors, which do not

> always find their way into an explicit action. Perhaps from another point of view, they may be described as two value systems, differing from each other in explicitation, one more abstract than the other, one of them coming to the fore under certain circumstances and receding to the background at other times (Bulatao 1967:17).

Filipinos will often rationalize their following of the non-Christian value system as human weakness using the phrase "ako'y tao lamang (I'm only human)." But Butatao insists (1967:20) that split-level Christianity is quite different from human weakness, which presumes an acceptance of one set of values and principles and at the same time a temptation to diverge from those principles. Thus human weakness results in a sense of guilt for not living up to the principles that one professes. However, in split-level Christianity there is little feeling of guilt, if any at all. Rather there is a conviction that following a second set of principles is correct and acceptable, even though it is often shielded from society's gaze or at least from the eyes of those in authority.

Butatao (1967:22-23) gives three characteristics of this split-level Christianity. The first characteristic is the conviction in the validity of each of two inconsistent value systems. The second characteristic is the failure of the people to perceive the inconsistency of the two systems or at least their ability to prescind from this inconsistency. The inconsistency is simply not alluded to and has no effect on the people unless someone slips into the indigenous system at an inappropriate time, such as in the presence of an authority figure of the Christian value system - as in the case of the pious parrot. There follows then, the third characteristic of split-level Christianity, which is the need to keep the authority figure at a distance.

In Bulatao's analysis the surface level in a Filipino's life is the more "Christian" value system. In this he follows the standards of belief and behavior acquired at school and in the Church. Usually the values and principles of this system are verbalized and conceptualized in English or in Spanish, and many of the rules of this system have been committed to memory word-by-word. The deeper system in a Filipino's life consists of values, attitudes, and standards of behavior, which have never been committed to memory, but have been learned more informally in the home and in the street.

Bulatao (1967:25-26) suggests two reasons why the incongruity of these two systems is not more apparent to the people and why these levels of behavior remain separate. The first reason is that the surface level, the Westernized and Christian level, is largely abstract and symbolic and is not seen as applicable to the core of the Filipino's real social life. The second reason for these levels remaining separate is that they are learned in different settings and in response to different stimuli. Hence, throughout the life of such a person, either value system can be called into action depending upon the specific situation and the specific stimuli.

If we take Bulatao's analysis of split-level Christianity in the Philippines and rephrase it in Goodenough's concepts, we would conclude that in the Philippines Christianity has been accepted as one operating culture for individuals, but that it is often in conflict with one or more other operating cultures of these individuals. Also although Christianity has no doubt altered the community culture to some degree, this change has not been of sufficient depth to affect other and conflicting operating cultures for most people to any significant degree.

SOCIOPOLITICAL CONTINUITY ON PONAPE

When I did fieldwork on the political system of Ponape, I found a situation in many ways similar to the split-level Christianity described by Bulatao. In that society there is a fully functioning traditional sociopolitical system with leaders selected largely according to rank in specific clans and lineages side-by-side with the relatively recently introduced sociopolitical system with elected leaders and appointed bureaucratic officials. The jurisdiction of one elected leader, the Magistrate

(Mayor), is exactly coterminus with that of the traditional paramount chief, the Nahnmwarki. Both are acknowledged as "the leader" of the same geographical area. When asked to distinguish the roles of these two leaders, most Ponapeans respond that the Magistrate is the leader pali en opis (in non-traditional affairs) while the Nahnmwarki is the leader pali en sapw (in traditional affairs). They explain that the Magistrate is leader in education, taxation, health care, etc., while the Nahnmwarki is leader in traditional affairs such as feasts, tribute, and the distribution of titles (Hughes 1970:63).

Ponapeans clearly apply different sets of values and norms not only to the roles of Magistrate and Nahnmwarki but to all leadership roles in these two sociopolitical systems. They are also quite conscious of the differences between these two systems. They see them as being different, but not contradictory and they move back and forth between these systems quite nimbly. From this perspective we could certainly analyze Ponapean society using the "split-level Christianity" analysis of Bulatao as a model. It would fit well for Ponapean society and, I suspect, for many societies. However, on Ponape a number of studies have been conducted focusing on various aspects of culture change and adaptation particularly in the sociopolitical system. These studies should allow us to push the analysis further and to ask how the indigenous system has adopted and adapted new elements. Once we have done that, we can ask what impact, if any, the adoption of Christian concepts and values has had in the ponapean sociopolitical system.

In a recent publication (Hughes 1982) I presented evidence of the continued vitality of the indigenous sociopolitical system on Ponape and attempted to explain some of the reasons for this phenomenon. Without repeating in detail the material in that article, it will be helpful to recall the major points in that argument.

The Nahnmwarki is the central figure in the indigenous sociopolitical system on Ponape and he continues to be regarded by the vast majority of Ponapeans as a figure of great importance in their lives (Hughes 1970:160). Although the Nahnmwarki no longer exudes the same sense of awe that he did in the early contact period when he was considered almost too sacred to be seen, nevertheless some of this "sacred" aura remains. He is still considered the person with the greatest honor in the state and the source of honor for the state, and the people honor him accordingly with many signs of deference, both formal and informal. Fischer (1974:176) has noted that a Nahnmwarki "could probably stop any brawl between Ponapeans today if he chose to intervene". Few Ponapeans would be so lacking in respect for the Nahnmwarki as to resist such intervention.

Another indication of the honor associated with the position of the Nahnmwarki in contemporary Ponapean society is the number of formal apology rituals still offered to him by his subjects. The details of the formal apology ritual have been described by Riesenberg (1968:56). It is a ceremonial offering of kava by the Nahnken (the second ranking paramount chief) in which the Nahnmwarki is asked to forgive the offending party. In a recent study R. Ward (1975) found that such apology rituals to the Nahnmwarki remain quite common. Formerly an offender was moved to make such an apology by a belief that a refusal to do so would provoke punishment by the spirit of the Nahnmwarki or by the fear that the Nahnmwarki might deprive him of his property, his land, or even his life. Nowadays, with those sanctions removed, an offender is induced to apologize simply by social pressure or by the fear of having his title revoked or of not receiving a higher title.

Under successive colonial administrations the formal authority of the Nahnmwarki has been relegated increasingly to the "traditional affairs" such as title distribution and feasting. However, his actual power and informal influence extend far beyond these arenas. One example of this power was the construction of an elaborate feast house in Matolenim (M. Ward 1975). To defray the cost of that project the Nahnmwarki levied a tax on all titleholders in the state. For several years many residents contributed large sums of money and others donated food for laborers, materials for construction, or their own labor.

One major reason for the continuation of the Nahnmwarki as an important figure in Ponapean society is that he has retained control over state titles, which can be considered a vital resource in that society. State titles are extremely important to most Ponapeans, even to those who are most successful in the modern or introduced political and economic systems. A recent study has shown that 95% of the adult Ponapeans eligible for titles do hold titles (M. Ward 1975). People place great significance in these titles, and acquiring a high state title remains one of the greatest goals of most Ponapeans. A title validates one's status in the community in a way that no other accomplishment can.

Another reason for the strength of the contemporary Nahnmwarkis is the flexibility of the title and the feasting systems. This flexibility has allowed the Nahnmwarkis to introduce innovations that have strengthened the title and the feasting systems and also their own position in the society as a whole (M. Ward 1975; Petersen 1975). They have expanded a category of highly honored titles and have awarded these titles in recognition of accomplishments in the modern sphere as legitimate contributions to the good of the state. They have also allowed traditional items of tribute (yams, kava, and pigs) to be supplemented by cash and by store-bought goods. In this way they have opened the title and the feasting systems up to more people by providing more winners in the game, as it were (Petersen 1975).

A final reason for the continued vitality of the indigenous sociopolitical system on Ponape is the strong and explicit appreciation for "the Ponapean way" of life as opposed to "the introduced" ways (Hughes 1970:217), and an equally explicit desire to retain as much of it as possible. Nason's account of political change on the island of Etal (Nason 1974:140) demonstrates that not all Micronesian societies have been as explicit and as determined as the Ponapeans in their attempt to retain as much of their indigenous social structure as possible. Clearly the Nahnmwarkis, as the central figures in the indigenous sociopolitical system, have benefitted from this determination.

IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON PONAPE

At the conference on Missionization at Stuart, Florida referred to earlier in this paper, Latukefu stressed the view that one reason for the strained relations between missionaries and anthropologists is the fact that anthropologists almost invariably focus on the traditional elements of a culture and are slow to acknowledge the significance of introduced elements such as Christianity. Latukefu claimed that most anthropologists seem to ignore the fact that the vast majority of Pacific Islanders are Christians and have been for generations. Both the world views and the cultures of the Pacific Islanders have been profoundly influenced by their acceptance of Christianity, according to Latukefu, and cannot be fully understood or appreciated without a recognition of this fact.

I think that Latukefu's reservation about the work of the anthropologists is quite reasonable and that it would apply to those of us who have worked on Ponape. While we have not denied the impact of the introduction of foreign elements, religious or other, we certainly have stressed the aspect of cultural continuity. Most, perhaps all, of us have echoed and supported the theme that runs through Petersen's incisive analyses: "Apparent changes in contemporary Ponapean life are more actively shaped by the continuing arc of Ponapean culture history than they themselves alter the trajectory of this historical tradition" (Petersen 1982:1). Our point is that, despite many changes in the educational process, the political structure, and the economic organization, Ponapeans have retained a strong Ponapean identity and a vibrant Ponapean sociocultural system. They have not become imitation Japanese, Germans, or Americans. This has been a legitimate and, I think, a fruitful line of analysis. However, it may well have caused us to overlook or at least to prescind from some significant elements in contemporary Ponapean culture. For example, as Latukefu would indicate, most Ponapeans are now Christians and have been for generations. Granted that this "conversion" has not transformed them into Americans or Italians, how has it affected their culture and their identity? How has it modified the sociopolitical system that we have been examining?

One Christian doctrine that seems to have had a profound effect on Ponapean culture is the belief in a supreme deity. Pre-Christian Ponapean culture was strongly animistic. The most comprehensive presentation of the indigenous Ponapean cosmology is found in a recent publication by Shimizu (1982). Shimizu's analysis is most helpful in understanding Ponapean culture, but he himself is the first to admit that parts of the analysis are the result of "guess work" because "the indigenous system of religious notions on nature and human beings has almost been lost today" (Shimizu 1982:197-198). Despite our lack of detailed knowledge of the pre-Christian religion, it is clear that the Nahnmwarki linked his people to the spirits and the gods and that his authority was supported by supernatural sanctions. When a Nahnmwarki was offended, the spirit(s) of the Nahnmwarki would inflict punishment on the offender (Riesenberg 1968:58). Although the Nahnmwarkis did not become despotic rules like their predecessors in the Saudeleur line, some of them at times did take advantage of their privileged position to make excessive demands on the people (Riesenberg 1968:51-52). As belief in spirits has faded on Ponape, of course, fear of punishment by the spirit of the Nahnmwarki for an offense against him has also faded. Surely the aura surrounding the Nahnmwarki is less compelling without the spiritual dimension. Still there does seem to remain among many Ponapeans a belief or a feeling that faithful observance of their obligations of tribute to the Nahnmwarki helps to assure the blessings of nature and bountiful harvests (Petersen 1975:5; Shimizu 1982:197).

Fischer (1974:197) has noted that during the Japanese period the Nahnmwarki and the Nahnken lost their administrative and judicial responsibilities within the colonial structure and became "spokesmen for the people" representing them to the Japanese officials. It is Fischer's impression that popular support for the paramount chiefs increased as they exercised this role of spokesman. I think that Fischer is correct and I would speculate that as the role of the Nahnmwarki was changing it was heavily influenced by Christian notions of the fatherhood of God and of divine love. Certainly even in the pre-Christian era the Nahnmwarkis were responsible for the welfare and harmony of their people and their role as ruler may well have included the concept of fatherhood. However, I would speculate that the element of fatherhood in the relation of the Nahnmwarki and the people has been greatly enhanced in recent years. I base this speculation on data from my 1966 fieldwork on Ponape.

Part of the 1966 fieldwork was a pilot study in which I interviewed Ponapeans in all six municipalities asking open-ended questions about the indigenous and the introduced political systems. On the basis of responses to these open-ended questions I composed a questionnaire that I then administered to a random sample of 300 adult Ponapeans. In this survey the people indicated that the most important duty of a Nahnmwarki is to be a "father of the people". The second most important duty is to be a "teacher of the people". Both of these ranked much higher than the other duties: to be a "giver of titles," "a leader of the people," or a "receiver of tribute." When asked what qualities they valued mostly highly in a Nahnmwarki, the sample ranked "love of the people" first, followed by "ability to foster cooperation" and by "patience". The lowest ranked qualities were "capability in administration" and "intelligence" (Hughes 1970:161-162).

The view that ideally the Nahnmwarki should act as a father to his people and should love them and guide them as a father loves and guides his own children was not expressed only in response to the questionnaire. It was expressed frequently by people when they discussed the role to the Nahnmwarki in Ponapean society.

The most eloquent expression that I heard of this aspect of the Nahnmwarki's role was given by Nahnmwarki Samuel of Matolenim. A few days after he had been installed as Nahnmwarki, he visited southern Matolenim where five sections gave a combined feast in his honor. After various leaders of the state had spoken, Nahnmwarki Samuel himself addressed the group. A hush fell over the group as his rich, deep voice assured them that his reign would be a reign of "love" and "harmony". He said that from the northernmost section to the southernmost section of the state people would "live with one heart." Again and again throughout the speech he stressed the same message. His reign would be a time for the people of

Matolenim to live and work in a spirit of love and harmony and to prosper. He told them that the people of one section would love the people of other sections and that the people of Matolenim would love and cooperate with the people of the other states. Later that day I was returning to my own section with others who had attended the feast. At one point two of the men began to discuss the speech. Both were deeply impressed by it and said that Nahnmwarki Samuel had given a great speech and had spoken like a true Nahnmwarki (Hughes 1970:154-155).

CONCLUSION

We began our paper with Latukefu's exhortation that future studies on missionization focus more on the religious aspects of conversion and that researchers try to analyze what effect basic Christian concepts of the universal fatherhood of God and of divine love have on the lives of converts. This paper is by no means the type of formal research project or extensive analysis that Latukefu envisioned. It is rather an attempt to stimulate more interest in such research by taking some analytical concepts and applying them to research findings in two societies.

We agree with Goodenough's position that on its deepest level religious conversion, no less than community development, involves an identity change for the community as well as for the individual. We selected the concepts of personal, operating cultures and of community culture to see how these might apply to analyses made by social scientists of contemporary Philippine culture and of Ponapean culture. According to Bulatao's analysis of split-level Christianity among the Filipinos, conversion to Christianity, along with other introductions from the West, has created a new formal operating culture. However, for most Filipinos this formal (Christian) operating culture has not succeeded in changing the informal (indigenous) operating culture in any discernible way either directly or through a modified community culture.

On Ponape we find a situation similar to Bulatao's split-level Christianity in that the Ponapeans distinguish between the traditional or indigenous elements and the introduced or foreign elements in their social lives and that they see these as part of two distinct cultural systems. However, by reviewing some of the extensive research focused on culture change on Ponape we can push our analysis further to examine the process of interaction between the indigenous cultural elements and those introduced through Western contact. Most of the culture change studies on Ponape have emphasized cultural continuity and the impressive ability of Ponapeans to incorporate new elements into their social system in such a way as to retain the distinctive Ponapean character of that system. Still Ponapean culture has to some extent been modified by these introduced elements, including the basic concepts and values of Christianity. Returning to Goodenough's notion of identity change, we find evidence that at least some basic Christian concepts and values, such as the fatherhood of God and the divine love of God, are by no means completely relegated to the individual operating cultures associated with introduced or non-Ponapean affairs. These concepts and values have penetrated the individual operating cultures associated with indigenous affairs and have done so to a sufficient degree to be considered part of Ponapean community identity. Hence, these concepts and values have been key elements in both individual and in community identity change.

NOTES

1. Paper presented at the XIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. August 14-17, 1983. Quebec City, Canada.

2. Revised, December, 1983.

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SABBATH OBSERVANCE AND THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF IN A SCOTTISH CALVANIST COMMUNITY

PETER G. MEWETT
North Australia Research Unit,
The Australian National University

The Isle of Lewis is the largest island in the archipelago of the Western Isles, situated off the northwest coast of mainland Scotland. This is one of Scotland's major crofting areas. The croft is a rented agricultural smallholding defined by, and given certain privileges under, statute law. In Lewis, with its poor arable land and even poorer grazings, these crofts have been too small to support the household without combining croft work with other sources of income. This gave rise to a system of necessary occupational pluralism that, until relatively recently, provided the economic base characteristic of Lewis crofting communities (Mewett 1977). These crofts are gathered together into a number of villages, or townships to use the official and legal term, and my observations in this paper derive from two years field research, in 1974-75, in a group of three spatially contiguous townships. These three townships are viewed collectively by their inhabitants and by other people as a social unit separate from other nearby villages. For this reason I take them to be a single community which, for ease of exposition, I call Clachan.

It is located a few miles along the coast from Stornoway, the island's only town, in one of the more densely populated crofting areas of Lewis. The working population of Clachan, now much more occupationally diverse than it was up to two or three decades ago, mainly commutes to Stornoway for work. In common with Lewis generally, Clachan has suffered severe population depletion in the course of this century. The associated demographic imbalances of this population trend are seen in a relative preponderance of elderly, and of single people.

Lewis is renowned for its radical Protestantism. It is, perhaps, the major stronghold of Calvanism in Scotland and in the British Isles as a whole. Its origin dates back to the first half of the nineteenth century, following the dissolution of clan society in which the clan chiefs had become the landlords of a new economic and social order. One church existed in Lewis at that time - the established Church of Scotland - and the affiliations, interests and outlook of its ministers favoured the landed vested interests. Crofters moved away from this church in increasing numbers to follow dissenting ministers, lay preachers and missionaries who espoused a radical and fervent evangelicism.

> The 'spiritual destitution' which nineteenth-century Evangelicals discerned in the Highlands was very real. It was the inevitable outcome of the absence - since the mid-eighteenth century - of any real sense of social cohesion or framework of moral reference. The evangelical faith helped make good this deficiency. It provided new beliefs and new standards. It created a new purpose in life and in an insecure world it gave some sense of security (Hunter 1974:100).

This movement was largely led by lay-preachers - commonly known as 'the men' - who were drawn from the crofters' ranks. The 'men', frequently distinguished by some pecularity of appearance such as a long flowing beard, led these popular millenial movements that involved social teachings more relevant to the contemporary needs of the crofting population. Such movements, according to Hunter (1974:106), represented an attempt to come to terms with the realities of a social and economic system dominated by landlordism rather than by clanship. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 was warmly received in Lewis. The founding, by the dissenting ministers, of the Free Church of Scotland provided an institutionalised setting for the millenial fervour of this popular religion. About 95 per cent of the Lewis population declared an allegience to it.

Today the Free Church continues to claim about 90 per cent of the Lewis people. The remainder are more or less evenly divided between the Church of Scotland and the Free Presbyterian Church, a militant breakaway from the Free Church. In Clachan, church affiliation reflects the division between the three churches found on the island. Each church expects that at least one member of every household in its congregation should attend at least one of the two Sunday services. Some non-attendance is evident but most households maintain this obligation. Clachan belongs to a congregation formed between itself and a number of neighbouring villages, but a considerable 'visiting' of other congregations takes place during the 'communion season'.[1]

The taking of communion is strictly controlled. Only those who have, over a significant time, exhibited a pious, ascetic life-style, a considerable knowledge of the bible, and can relate an experience of being 'called' by God[2] are invited to take communion and so enter the congregation's religious elite. This is all in keeping with the doctrines of Calvin, except perhaps for the communicants' perception of themselves as God's elect. Calvin's theology on this issue has been modified because of the inability to recognise (from his teachings) the state of grace essential for the elect. In practice this has been resolved by examining the conduct of the individual. If this measures up to that which befits a Christian then that person has the 'true faith'. Personal conduct is important. The attainment of the state of grace covers the total life experiences of the individual. There can be no separation of the religious from the secular. Temptations of the flesh are to be avoided: sin is everlasting and cannot be atoned by the mediation of priestly ritual. Asceticism is the rule of life.

A problem exists in setting the frame of reference for assessing the degree to which a person maintains the 'systematic self-control which at every moment stands before the inexorable alternative, chosen or damned' (Weber 1930:115). In practical terms systematised modes of behaviour developed that provided the benchmark for measuring a person's actions, and hence their status relative to the state of grace. This involved certain practices in connection with church attendance and religious knowledge, and in the person's day-to-day conduct. Moreover, the notion that only God's elect can do the 'good work' meant that the secular behaviour associated with high religiosity - which I call the secular mode of religious behaviour - also became associated with the state of grace. Thus individuals were able to establish a basis for perceiving themselves as one of God's chosen few. This means that those admitted to communion must display a personal conduct commonly accepted as appropriate to the state of grace.

Calvanism, then, is a practical system of religious belief that goes beyond mere professions of piety. Communicants especially are required to uphold the secular mode of religious behaviour but it is also contingent on the Christian to show others the way of God. Calvin stated that it was God's will that everyone, chosen or damned, should conduct themselves according to the true faith. The communicants have become the guardians of this, the 'true church', and it is contingent upon them to police the activities of others. Thus the church is a powerful force in the lives of Lewis people. But religious beliefs are not only promulgated in the confines, and focussed interactions, of overtly religious events. Through the secular mode of religious behaviour they promote a religious orientation in everyday life. Thus the system of religious beliefs and practices is constructed in the course of everyday life in the village community, and this occurs because the interpretation of belief and practice within a Calvanist congregation ensures that the principles of the secular mode of religious behaviour are common social knowledge, even for the non-religious.

My point is that the Calvanism of this population, born from the millenial fervour of an oppressed small-tenantry over one and a half centuries ago, remains essentially evangelical, because of the conduct of this religious practice. The 'men', the radical dissenting ministers, and the millenialism are all things of the past; if anything the religion has become rather conservative. But it remains evangelical if by this word we mean the existence of a continuing emphasis on, and active encouragement of, the religious practice and doctrine. In this paper I single out one extremely important element of religious practice in Lewis: Sabbath observance. On Sundays, much more than on any other day of the week, the secular mode of religious behaviour is purposively promoted as the model of proper behaviour - that is, behaviour that glorifies God. In this action people of all degrees of religiosity are aware, very aware, of the behaviour expected of them and the sanctions that will befall them if they transgress. Thus in practice the conduct of most people is that which accords with religious cognition. I shall now describe some of the salient features of this Sabbath observance.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND SABBATH OBSERVANCE

The belief that the word of God includes all aspects of life means that everyday living should further the glorification of God. This view influences island affairs considerably. The everyday behaviour of the religious is noticeably constrained by religious beliefs. Such beliefs provide the parameters for a distinctive lifestyle and the religiosity of an individual frequently can be established from their everyday actions. More importantly, this distinction means that religion provides a way in which co-villagers and islanders are differentiated from one another. At one extreme stands the communicant: the sentinal of religious purity. At the other the drunkard: the 'bottle-basher' whose mode of behaviour is similtaneously defined by, and throws into sharp relief, the properties of the secular mode of religious behaviour.

These two opposites - religious purity and drunkeness - represent extremes. A considerable proportion of each congregation attend church regularly and accept and, to some greater or lesser extent, abide by the standards of religious purity without being overtly zealous in their manifestations of belief. These people may drink modestly or more heavily at ceremonial occasions but they lack both the association with drink that defines the 'bottle-basher', and the temperance defining the highly religious. In their extremes the bottle and the bible are irreconcilable only when engaged in by the same person at the same time. Movement from one to the other - invariably from bottle to bible - can and does take place.

The secular mode of religious behaviour involves regular church attendance, daily bible readings and family prayers in the home, abstinence from alcohol, and a negative attitude towards music and dancing. Keeping up this mode of behaviour is essential for the very religious and deviation from it may prevent a person from taking communion. A previous history of waywardness, however, does not carry this implication: it is action in the present that matters. The folk image of church elders is one of men who, having led drunken and wayward lives in their earlier years, rejected such ways and from their own volition turned to the church.

The communicant and drinker can be closely and obligatorily linked by kinship or by neighbourhood relationships but the group of friends that each holds, which depends on choice of associates, are normally quite different (see Mewett 1982). That is, the communicant will choose friends from among other communicants and drinkers from among other drinkers. The daily lives of drinker and communicant, albeit obligatorily linked by kinship and neighbourliness, otherwise remain quite separate. In particular, the requirement that an 'other-worldly' style of life should be conducted in this world means that communicants, and aspirants to this status, conduct themselves in an appropriately pious way.

The secular mode of religious behaviour means a necessarily ascetic life-style, the encouragement of temperance, and the discouragement of light entertainment. It is said that the fiddles, once a feature of most croft households, were destroyed in communal bonfires during a wave of evangelical fervour. Gaelic songs are invariably unaccompanied and the churches are devoid of musical instruments. Hymns are not sung: the glorification of God can occur only through the scriptures, not through affectations of praise feebly mooted by mortal people. The singing of the Psalms is the only form of music permitted by the church. These are sung in Gaelic, to set tunes derived from a blending of different musical scales and, led by a precentor, the Psalms provide a unique ethnomusicology.

The secular mode of religious behaviour extends into the home. Daily family bible readings and prayers should be performed, grace ought to be said before each meal and, in many cases, even before partaking light refreshment. Until recently it was impressed upon people to also say grace after a meal. This secular mode of religious behaviour integrates with the religious services of the 'true church' to provide a life-style totally attuned to the glorification of God. Religious services are frequently held: two each Sunday plus a Wednesday prayer service and other meetings held for specific purposes. Twice a year each congregation also holds its five day long communions. The point is, therefore, that religion is everpresent. The Calvanist injunction that everyday life should follow an ascetic, 'other-worldly' direction is constantly being reproduced in the day-to-day life of the island's religious elite. Moreover, once a person becomes a communicant, this status is known within the religious community of the island and this fact alone exerts considerable constraints on potential waywardness. Communicants should be, and must be seen to be, absolutely consistent in their maintenance of a religious front: especially in their upkeep of the secular mode of religious behaviour.

It can be said that the communicants live out a total religious experience. But on Sunday's religion becomes dominant on the island as a whole and markedly affects the behaviour of everyone, irrespective of their professed religiosity. And the Sabbath is actively 'policed'. The biblical injunction that no work should be done on the seventh day is taken literally and is actively enforced. This restriction extends even into the home. Food for the Sabbath should be prepared the day before so that the minimum of work need be done on the Lord's Day. Peats are brought into the house on Saturday to fuel the Sabbath's fires. Necessary work is permitted, however. Cows, seldom kept now, can be milked on the Sabbath. Similarly lambing ewes and animals and animals in distress can be attended, and stock can be fed and watered. All other croft work, irrespective of weather conditions, is put in abeyance for the day.

All trade ceases: every business closes down for the day. Pubs and hotel bars are closed to the public. The ferry and air services between the island and the mainland are curtailed. But work essential for humanitarian or other necessary reasons is exempted from the rules of Sabbath observance. Doctors and nurses are permitted to continue their labours, but it is impossible to buy a bottle of asprins on the Sabbath. There are grey areas, however. The recent growth of the North Sea oil industry and its associated onshore activities produced a problem for the Free Church. A newspaper report from the time when the construction of oil production platforms started to boom stated that,

> Only when the continuous pouring of cement is essential to build the platforms will the fabrication yards operate on Sunday ... The Free Church of Scotland clearly believes that however quietly or devoutly cement is poured, the operation could be tolerated on a Sunday only if to stop pouring would endanger the platform. The cement technicians have assured the church that this would be the case. (Times 19/11/73).

Anything done outside the house falls into a public domain, open to communal scrutiny and transgression to communal censure. Thus a non-religious man who forgot, on Saturday, to lift the vegetables for his Sunday dinner, crawled around his kitchen garden on his hands and knees so that others could not see him defiling the Sabbath by grubbing out the required crops. His transgression went unobserved.

Activities inside the home are less easy to police but they should, nevertheless, follow the secular mode of religious behaviour. The religious normally would ensure that their activities do, but the less religious will conduct themselves in a way that would involve censure if those acts were made public. The general rule of thumb for the non-religious is that on the Sabbath they continue to do what they want to do inside their own homes, but ensure that they are not seen (nor heard) to be in breach of the secular mode of religious behaviour. This often means that they simply continue their usual everyday domestic routine, and catch up with the household chores left undone in the preceeding week. But it is important to prevent any outward signs from signalling this domestic activity to the public domain. For example, people are known not to use their vacuum cleaner on a Sunday for fear that it might just be heard by a passer-by. Televisions should not be watched and radios should not be listened to, and the volume controls of these appliances are turned low to prevent any sound from escaping the house. The more religious generally do not use such appliances on the Sabbath - some even go to the extreme of turning their televisions sets to face the wall. 'To resist', one claimed, 'the temptation of the devil'.

Thus the secular mode of religious behaviour should encompass everyone on the Sabbath. The religious generally abide by its strictures, the non-religious do not, but their 'transgressions' are done in such a way that they are not manifested in the public domain. Everyone, the religious included, are fully aware that not everyone follows the secular mode of religious behaviour. The critical points are first, that everyone should be aware of how they should deport themselves on Sundays. Thus I have been told that newly-weds are instructed that sexual relations on the Sabbath can be performed for procreation only, and not for enjoyment. Newcomers to the island are told how they should behave on the Sabbath, but if they transgress soon after arrival this is usually ignored on the grounds that the person did not know any better. Such tolerance decreases, however, with the incomer's length of residence and the expectation that they should have learnt the island ways. Transgressions are then viewed as deliberate actions subject to censure. This leads to the second point: that for censure to occur transgressions have to be discernible in the public domain.

Censure can take several forms. On the one hand, comments may be made about a particular action to a person's face. One woman, an incomer to the island from mainland Scotland, told me that on being unable to sleep in the early hours on Monday morning, she got up, did her washing and had it pegged out on the washing-line before the rest of the villagers began their Monday morning activities. The outcome was that 'words were said' to her because it was assumed that she had done her washing on the Sabbath - otherwise it would not have been hung out so early on the Monday morning.

Pointed verbal attacks may be made against transgressors. The next case involves a household of a senior doctor in the Stornoway hospital. Weather permitting, washing was regularly pegged out on the line at his house on Sundays. He persistently and frequently flouted Sunday observance. The point was reached where a nurse - who was also an active figure in the Lord's Day Observance Society - gave the doctor a savage 'dressing down' in a public part of the hospital in full view of a significant number of people. He took this rebuke benignly and it was as futile as previous remonstrations since it did not lead to a cessation of the objectionable practice. Particularly interesting features of this case reside in the marked occupational status differences separating the protagonists, and in the fact that the encounter occurred in a location where this difference was especially relevant. The encounter broke the rules of discourse normally expected of a person addressing their superior: it represented the chastisement of a superior. The person who related this encounter to me - a non-religious person - spoke in terms of awe. She implied that the nurse had acted with some audacity. But this informant suggested no condemnation of the nurse. To have done this would have been to question the basis of the islander's religious beliefs, in which any action is thought to be accountable to God and, in the final analysis, to Him only.

Unlike Catholicism, where atonement with God for wayward actions can be made through confession and the mediations of the priest, the Calvanist protestantism found in Lewis permits no such leeway. Instead, the way of life of the individual has to be lived out according to the conduct expected of a person in the state of grace. Transgressions of this - which for the non-religious are in practice restricted to transgressions occurring on the Sabbath - are sure signs of eternal damnation. Moreover, it is incumbent upon those in a state of grace to direct the 'less fortunate' in the correct way to live. Open and clear denouncements of Sabbath transgressions, therefore, are morally correct actions. Indeed, it is the duty of those in the state of grace to lead, by the example of their conduct, the others to an exemplary life under the will of God. That, in practice, this is decided largely by what a person does on Sundays signifies the importance of Sabbath observance in the social construction of religious belief in Lewis.

The church as a formal organisation can also figure significantly in the control of behaviour on the Sabbath. A woman pegged out her washing one Saturday and forgot all about it. On the Sunday morning it flapped about for all to see. On that same Sunday morning part of the service in her congregation was given over to a discussion, led from the pulpit, to establish if she had sinned or if there were sufficient mitigating circumstances to avoid censure.

The Lord's Day Observance Society is closely associated with the church. This organisation can be regarded as a militant vanguard of the secular mode of religious behaviour. People who transgress the Sabbath may well receive a visit from a member of the Society, in order to clearly and unambiguously remind them of what constitutes appropriate Sabbath behaviour. A non-religious informant would not breach the rules of Sabbath observance because he did not want a visit from the, 'little men in dark suits': the expression he used to categorise the Society's activists. There is a social element in this. A visit from the Lord's Day Observance Society is likely to be observed by neighbours and then knowledge of it rapidly disseminated throughout the village. Thus the miscreant is also subjected to the knowledge that others in the local community know that he or she had transgressed the ordinances of Sabbath observance. Even if the others did not markedly disapprove they would have to express disapproval of an action contrary to the secular mode of religious behaviour.

A case involving the Society centres on the return to Lewis of a group of school children in a chartered aircraft. Its departure had been delayed by bad weather and it finally returned to Stornoway on a Sunday. An official of the Lord's Day Observance Society awaited the plane's arrival and he berated the accompanying adults as soon as they had alighted from the plane. The main thrust of his criticism was that by arriving on Sunday (and not further delaying their departures to avoid travelling at all on the Sabbath), the group leaders had sinned. But worse than this, they had set a bad example to the children, who might be led astray. A parallel exists between this case and the doctor-nurse one given above. The Lord's Day Observance Society official was a school-teacher and the 'offending' group leader a major official in the local authority's education department. In terms of occupational status and in terms of their relative positions in the bureaucratic organisation employing them both, this was another case of a superior being rebuked.

The legitimacy for such actions is contained in the moral authority deriving from the religious person's perceived status within the church. This moral authority is professed by the communicants in particular. Their membership of God's elect makes it incumbent upon them to chastise wrongdoers - to show them the way of the true faith. The cases and instances described above highlight with some force that religious belief in Lewis requires that an ascetic devotion to God should penetrate the activities of every household. And the belief that the secular mode of religious behaviour should be followed legitimises the rebuke that may follow when it is seem not to occur.

Involved in this is the Calvanist doctrine that God demands particular forms of behaviour from the individual. Deviations - epitomised in actions that contradict the secular mode of religious behaviour - are, and have to be, tolerated because of the way in which other social relationships cut right across the divisions created by the degree of religiosity. But on Sunday, the one day of the week above all others that should be devoted solely to the glorification of God, deviations are not permitted. Or, at least, they are not permitted to be seen to occur. Religious beliefs, moreover, demand that the glorification of God should be part and parcel of every household's routine: especially on the Sabbath. A point displayed in the prohibition of all work on this day and in the sharp reaction to any visible sign of such activity.

This point is, perhaps, most graphically shown in the symbolism of the washing-line. The incomer soon learns - in fact, is quite pointedly told - that the hanging-out of one's washing on a Sunday is certainly not the thing to do. The cases cited above centre on incidents surrounding the washing-line largely because of the wrath incited by transgressions in this area. This means two things. First, that hanging-out one's washing on the Sunday is most unlikely to be ignored and, second, talk about a transgression (and the transgressor) rapidly circulates through the village and beyond its boundaries. But why should the washing-line be such a potent symbol? The first 'washing-line case' given above is important. In this instance no washing was done on the Sunday, it was just pegged out so early on the Monday morning that people inferred that his household chore had been done on the Sabbath. This suggests that it is not the washing on the line in itself that fires the indignation of the religious, so much as it provides evidence, in the public domain, of household work on the Sabbath. Many household chores cannot be discerned in the public domain and can be done with relative impunity on a Sunday. But washing - with the necessity to peg the clothes on the washing-line as part of the cycle of work associated with this household chore - means that clothes on the washing-line on Sunday (or, indeed, early on the Monday morning) publicly signals work on the Sabbath. The relevance of the pulpit-led debate about the woman who forgot to take in her Saturday washing before the Sabbath lies in whether or not she had done any work on the Sunday. More then anything else the replete washing-line symbolises Sunday work and thus the desecration of the Sabbath.

There is a deeper level of meaning in this symbolism, however, which centres on the secular mode of religious behaviour. From Monday to Saturday this mode applies largely to the life-style of the religious, the less-

or non-religious, in varying degrees, ignore its strictures. On Sunday the emphasis changes. The ban on anything other than necessary work is added to the ascetism of a religiously 'proper' everyday life. And this ban applies to everyone on the island. On a week day the secular mode of religious behaviour is policed only for the communicants. On a Sunday it is policed for everyone in respect of transgressions that can be discerned in the public domain.

The Sabbath has quite definite temporal boundaries. It starts at precisely midnight on Saturday evening and ends exactly twenty-four hours later. Stories abound of women busy at household chores on a Saturday evening in preparation for the Sunday only to carry-on past midnight and excuse their transgression with a complaint about the clock running fast. True or false, such stories signify the arbitrariness of the start to the Sabbath. Moreover, Friday evening is the main evening for a 'night-out'" it is then that dances and so on are held. These, and the associated heavy drinking, frequently continue into the early hours of Saturday morning. If held on a Saturday evening such revelling would have to cease by midnight. A dramatic illustration of the Sabbath's temporal boundaries occurred when the oil-rig construction site was being built in Lewis, adjacent to Stornoway harbour. Continuous shifts were used to keep the work going twenty-four hours a day. But the work stopped at the stroke of midnight on Saturday nights and restarted at precisely midnight on Sunday nights. The fact that the churches agreed this arrangement suggests the strict, arbitrary nature of the Sabbath's temporal boundaries. But these are policed as well. Any work or event spilling over into the small hours of Sunday morning, for instance, would be censured.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

That religion is so pervasive in Lewis is partly attributable to the fact that it is informed by Calvanist doctrine, in which religious activity is not confined to any 'sacred site' but pervades the everyday life and actions of people. On the other hand, the actualisation of this doctrine into an established practice of secular behaviour means that religious expression - and the pervasiveness of the religion - is regarded as part of everyday social activity. In this way religion can define and inform the actions of the non-religious as well as those of the religious.

The religious are the communicants and the aspirants to this status, and these generally live out a rather ascetic life-style as demanded by the secular mode of religious behaviour. Communicants, who perceive themselves as God's elect, generally police one another to ensure conformity with the secular mode. But everyone, irrespective of their religiosity, knows what this involves. That is, the secular mode constitutes part of the local community's stock of knowledge. People know whether or not they live their everyday lives by the secular mode. Irrespective of their religiosity they also know what Sabbath observance means and how, on Sundays, the secular mode is enforced within the community as a whole. What this really involves for the non-religious is that they must be careful to avoid their transgressions from becoming evident in the public domain. But in so doing they are, publicly at least, reaffirming the sanctity of the Sabbath: a belief basic to the dominant religious doctrine. Thus the belief becomes confirmed by the practice through the social construction of Sabbath behaviour. The policing of the Sabbath by the religious serves to discover transgressions and, in so doing, use these as negative examples of that which should be practiced. The secular mode must be practiced if the 'true faith' is to be followed, and it is the duty of adherents to this faith to ensure that others also follow this mode. This provides the moral authority legitimating the policing of the Sabbath by the religious.

In Sabbath observance especially, religious beliefs about the secular mode and the actual practice of this mode are fused into a process of religious observance that is essentially proselytising. It is this because of the doctrine that the secular mode should be followed, and it is a part of one's duty to God to ensure its observance by others. Thus the doctrine is projected onto the local community as a whole, and it is given credence as people act out the performance of Sabbath observance. Even the non-religious, by keeping their transgressions of the Sabbath out of the public domain, socially construct the practices that the secular mode is all about. Belief and practice thus become fused in the Calvanism for which Lewis is renowned. Moreover, it is an evangelical religion - made so by the very practices promoted by the religious doctrine and reaffirmed every seventh day in the ritual of Sabbath observance.

NOTES

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1. Communions last for five days and each congregation holds two a year. They are so arranged to prevent any two congregations holding communions at the same time, which also facilitates an extensive pattern of inter-congregational visiting that has been built up on the basis of attending communions (Mewett 1982: 120).

2. This is referred to as getting the curam (Mewett 1982:118).

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RACIAL AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY COMMUNITY: JAMAICAN AND SWISS-GERMAN MISSIONARIES IN THE BASEL MISSION IN THE GOLD COAST IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

DOROTHY DEE VELLENGA, Ph.D.
Muskingum College

On April 17, 1843, a ship named the Joseph Anderson docked at Christiansborg harbour in the Gold Coast. On that ship were 24 Jamaicans, an Antiguan, a Liberian, two Danes and a German.[1] This international and inter-racial group was to form the founding core of the Swiss Basel Mission in the Gold Coast. The dynamics of this mixed group in interaction with a local African population provides a fascinating glimpse into problems of cross-cultural communication in the mid-nineteenth century. At this time the rigidities of the colonial system had not completely formed and theorists of racism had not fully developed their ideologies. In the flux of the moment we will see both the seeds of a co-operative inter-racial community and racist tension. The Christian ideology of universal brotherhood has always co-existed with the idea of a chosen people set aside from the heathen and the unsaved. As the perversions of Calvinism in South Africa have demonstrated, this latter perspective can easily predominate and lend itself to the support of a racist ideology. The Basel Mission came out of a similar

Calvinist tradition, but the different situation in the Gold Coast produced a somewhat different result.

The Basel Mission Society had earlier attempted to establish a mission in the Gold Coast starting in 1828 at the invitation of the Danish Government which then ruled the coast from Christiansborg to Keta and inland to Krobo and Akwapim. Ten European missionaries had been sent out from 1828 to 1840 and all except Andreas Riis and his wife died shortly after their arrival.[2] In an attempt to find a healthier climate, Riis had traveled inland in 1835, up the Akwapim scarp to Akropong, the capital of the Akwapim state. He found the climate much more tolerable than the coast and purchased some land from the ruler Okuampemhene Addo Dankwa. He built a house and stayed there five years, but in that time made no converts. The Basel Mission in Switzerland decided to abandon their Gold Coast efforts and Riis was asked to return to Europe. However, when the ruler and elders of Akwapim came to say farewell to Riis, the Okuampemhene is reported to have said to him through his linguist: "When God created the world, he made book for the White man and fetish or juju for the Black man, but if you could show us some Black men who could read the White man's book, then we would surely follow you."[3]

When Riis returned to Basel, he relayed his message to the energetic new inspector of the mission, Hoffman, who developed the idea of establishing a colony of English-speaking Black Christians at Akropong:[4]

> These he thought could do most of the manual labour that had caused the death of some of the white missionaries and they would present the desirable spectacle of an ideal Christian community which would dispel the heathen idea that Christianity may be a good religion for whitemen but not for coloured men.... In the West Indies... there were coloured men who had had longer Christian training in the German Evangelical form of the Moravian Brethren. Men from the British West Indies were regarded to be more suitable than those from the Dutch Indies, among others, because of their acquaintance with the English

language which had a bright future in the Gold Coast.

The plan to use converted slaves as missionaries in Africa was not unique to the Basel and Moravian missions. As early as the mid-eighteenth century in the American colonies, Samuel Hopkins (1721-1802), an outspoken critic of slavery and Ezra Stiles (1727-95) president of Yale "promoted a play to raise money to free slaves and return them as missionaries to Africa."[5]

In this paper we will first describe the missionaries and the West Indian Christian families, the situation they left in Jamaica and the atmosphere in the Gold Coast in which they worked. We will then analyze the relationships between the Jamaican colonists and the Africans, the Basel missionaries and the Africans and finally the Basel missionaries and the West Indians for the first five years. This was the time period set up for the initial experiment. In 1848 the West Indians were to decide whether to return to the West Indies or stay in Africa. For those who remained new long term problems emerged. We will focus on only two of these -- questions of marriage and Black-White relations. Finally, the contributions of these West Indian immigrants, through their descendants, to the development of a Christian, professional and eventually nationalistic elite will be analyzed.

RECRUITMENT IN THE WEST INDIES

In 1842, George Widmann, Herman Halleur and George Thompson were appointed by the Basel Mission to go to the Gold Coast along with Riis and his wife. Halleur when on ahead to Africa, but the others went first to the Moravian mission in the West Indies to find suitable candidates for the colonization scheme. Riis, at this time was 38 years old. He had been born in 1804 in Sleswig which was a Danish province until 1864. Even though the Basel Mission was headquartered in Switzerland, most of its missionaries in the Gold Coast were either Danes or Germans.[6] It is not entirely clear where his wife, Ana Wolter, was born. She had joined him in the Gold Coast in 1837. They were the only survivors of the first phase of missionaries who went out. These early deaths and disappointments and the loneliness that Riis experienced among his uncomprehending Danish compatriats in the coastal area left its mark on Riis. He became increasingly difficult to work with. But no one denied that he had vision and endurance.

Widmann, who was 10 years younger, was born in 1814 near Tubigen in South Germany.[7] By all accounts, Widmann was a calmer and humbler man than Riis. He was more of a teacher than a pioneer and is credited with laying the foundation for the system of education of the present-day Presbyterian Church in Ghana.[8] He was a serious scholar of the Twi language and less than a year after arriving in the Gold Coast preached in Twi without an interpreter. He died in Akropong in 1876 having spent 33 years in the Gold Coast.

George Thompson was a Liberian who had been taken to Basel by a missionary named Sessing to work as a houseboy. He eventually obtained an education as a teacher in Switzerland.[9]

On May 18, 1842, these four left Gravesend, England, for the West Indies, their destination being the Moravian missions there. The Moravians had arrived in Jamaica as early as 1754.[10] In comparison with the Methodists, the Baptists and the Black Baptists, the Moravians were considered rather co-operative by the white elite of the Creole Society.[11] As Braithwaite analyzes the situation,[12]

> There was, in fact, a certain ambiguity in the white missionaries' attitude and position which the black preachers were not caught balancing on. The white missionaries were, quite sincerely, ...endeavouring 'to get personally acquainted' with the slaves, and their motives in trying to do this were much 'purer' than a similar endeavour on the part of an average secular creole would have been. The missionaries were also, on the principle of their religious freedom alone, in opposition to the white Establishment. Because of this they were, by implication on

> the 'side' of the slaves.... But the slaves were still slaves, still seen as stereotypes, not people, as souls to be saved, not selves to be respected. And this, the slaves must surely have realized and felt. There were, without doubt, many sincere Christian slaves -- really converted. But the evidence of missionary diaries suggests that in general the slaves found the missionaries a convenience. They could offer them a certain prestige; protection and privileges, sometimes. But above all, they could supply, with their white man's religion, a new and another fetish.

But Braithwaite also adds:[13]

> For the slaves, on the other hand, and for the non-whites generally, the missionary communities provided a new extra-plantation experience they had not known before. The new Christian communities like their own ex-African religious beliefs and practices, provided them with embryonic organizations and ways and means of organizing. What is more, these Christian organizations were being encouraged, not discouraged like their African ones. The missionaries, in other words, whether they realized it or not, were giving the slaves and non-whites, no matter how presented, new ideas to use, think about, re-interpret. They were providing a form of education and recharging the batteries of the slaves' imagination.

Into this ambivalent situation, the four emissaries from the Basel Mission came seeking converts who would be willing to go to Africa. Slavery had been fully abolished only five years earlier in 1838. Some ex-slaves in the Christian communities were just beginning to accumulate some property of their own. The Rev. Jacob Zorn was head of the Moravian mission in Jamaica and introduced the Riis party to the congregations in Jamaica. Six families volunteered to go as well as three bachelors, one of whom, Jonas Hosford, was recruited from Antigua. In addition, Catherine Mulgrave volunteered to go. She had been captured from a Portuguese slaver at the age of five and adopted by Lady Normandy, the wife of the governor of Jamaica. She had been trained in Moravian schools and had qualified as a teacher at the Mico Institute in Kingston.[14] The missionaries thought she would make an appropriate wife for George Thompson and accordingly they were married in December of 1842.[15]

The three bachelors ranged in age from 17 to 22. Alexander Worthy Clerk, the eldest, had been trained as a teacher. His father had been a headman in their village during the time of slavery. The father had been an early Christian convert. An English woman had sent 10 pounds yearly for Alex's education and had wanted him to take her grandfather's name.[16] Jonas Hosford, the youngest, was the only non-Jamaican in the group, having come from Falmouth, Antigua. David Robinson, 20 years old, had been a field worker on a plantation in Jamaica.[17]

The Miller family consisted of Joseph, 43 and Mary, 32 and their three children, Rosina, 7, Robert, 4 and Catherine, 1. Joseph had been a communicant member of the Fairfield Congregation in 1832 and his wife in 1834. His occupation is listed as a field worker. John Rochester, 31 and his wife Mary 33, had one son, John, who was eight. Rochester's occupation is listed as a cooper. His sister, Anna, 24, a washerwoman, also had volunteered to accompany them. She is described by Rev. Zorn in the following way.[18]

> Not a little have I wondered at the faith and courage, I may say moral heroism, of a young, black, single sister who was in our house as a domestic (for we must estimate the strengths of the resolution by the limited intellect of the individual). Though almost overwhelmed by her feelings, she goes in the humble capacity of washerwoman to the Mission family, thus to show a Christian example.

John Rochester had joined the church in 1841 and his wife much earlier 1827. Anna became a communicant member in 1838.

James Green, 33, was trained as a carpenter. His wife, Catherine, 37, had joined the church in 1837 and he in 1831. They had one son, Robert, 12 years old. John Hall, 41, had been a distiller of rum. He and his wife, Mary, 32, had joined the church in 1839 and 1840 respectively, but John had already been elected a Presbyter. They had one son, Andrew, two years old.

The Mullings, James and Margaret, had been house-servants. He was 23 and she 22. They had a one year old daughter, Catherine. Both were candidates for church membership. The sixth family was the Walkers. Edward was 34 and Sarah, 24. His occupation is listed as field worker. He had joined the church in 1840 and his wife as a candidate. They had one son, John, who was 6 years old.

Although most of the West Indians were recent communicant church members, almost all had been baptized as children indicating that they were probably second generation Christians.

The Rev. Zorn's comments on these volunteers were somewhat ambivalent. On the one hand he mentioned,[19] "We felt much encouraged by the conduct and sentiments of these Brethren especially as they were not of the numbers of those from whom we had expected" -- a rather back-handed compliment. But he also stated that

> By their industry, they had made themselves comparatively comfortable and were doing well in the world, but this they freely resigned. The agent of one man's property (which we had advised him not to sell) warned him that the maintenance of the property would eat up the profits, but the man told him, 'Brother, I look for nothing.'

The stereotypes of Africa shared by both the missionaries and the Jamaican Christians must have done little to ease their anxiety. Zorn mentions that their families had endeavoured to dissuade them from going and spoke of the "cannibalism of Africa, the horrors of wild beasts and related terrifying dreams." A hymn composed for their departure spoke of "wretched Afric's shore" and that "dark land of sorrow, sin and death." They were admonished to keep "entirely clear from African superstitions. They formed a temperance society and all signed the pledge." Interestingly, however, many of the slaves who were brought to Jamaica originally came from the Gold Coast area. Retentions of Akan and Ga culture from the southern Gold Coast could be seen in Jamaica in customs associated with the life cycle such as birth and funeral practices, religious ideas, music, dance and language.[20] Undoubtedly the West Indian families had been exposed to these. Despite their conversion to Christianity, there must have been some ambivalence about these customs.

The Basel Mission Society and the West Indians had signed a contract which had the following stipulations:[21]

1) Form of services for the congregations and regulations for church discipline of the Moravians to be maintained.

2) They are to serve willingly the mission, who will care for all their needs in the first two years.

3) The mission society takes the obligation to provide houses for the West Indians and gardens and to give one day a week free.

4) After the two years, they may either work for themselves or for the mission society for a reasonably low wage.

5) If anybody wants to return after five years, the mission society will pay the passage provided that he has not been guilty of moral aberration. (sexual)

Rev. Zorn described their farewell service:[22]

> They wept and there was scarcely a dry eye.... One said, 'My dear brethen and sisters. I am leaving you for Africa. I go with my life in my hand. If I live, I live

> unto the Lord; if I die, I die unto the Lord. I thought of how our Savior came from Heaven, left all His glory out of love for us in order to do good and save our souls. This love induces me to go to Africa in order to tell the poor ignorant people of Jesus.... We go in order to set a good example to the people of Africa and to each them how a Christian must live and I hope that we, with the blessing of our Saviour, will be of some blessing to them.' ...Most of them, yes, I can say all, have left houses, lands, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters. By their diligence they have attained a degree of prosperity and are outwardly in good circumstances, but they have denied themselves all with pleasure.

They all departed from Jamaica on Feb. 8, 1843 and a little over two months later landed in the Gold Coast. Thompson and his bride were to remain at the coastal station in Christiansborg along with Alex Clerk who would help in the founding of a school. The rest of the party traveled inland to Akropong. They were welcomed by the new Okuampemhene, Adum, a different ruler from the one that Riis had known. The house that Riis had built was now in ruins, so the West Indians proceeded to build new houses -- this time from stone. They were the first stone houses built in Akropong and some are still standing.[23]

THE AKWAPIM SETTING

Almost immediately the little mission station in Akropong established patterns distinctive of the Basel Mission in the Gold Coast. One of these patterns was to work primarily among inland peoples who had not been "contaminated" by the influences of the Afro-European culture of the coastal cities. The Wesleyan missionaries, on the other hand, tended to concentrate in the towns. Secondly, the attempt was made to create a physically distinct "Salem" community of Christian missionaries and converts to separate the Africans from their past life. Third, was the stress on learning the local language and teaching and preaching in the vernacular. Finally, a very practical orientation manifested itself in the emphasis placed on self-supporting farms, creating skilled artisans and eventually providing market outlets.[24]

Much as the Basel Mission might have wanted to be a community apart, they were inevitably drawn into the local factional and political disputes. Akwapim at this period was divided between rivals to the stool (the term for the throne). For the time being, Adum was in charge, but he was challenged by large sections of the state and the town of Akropong. Many of the residents had even fled the town. In the coastal areas there were rivalries between the Danes and English and sometimes these rivalries overlapped with the state crisis in Akwapim with the Danes getting involved on one side or another hoping to strengthen their suzerainty.[25]

Riis, himself, had described the situation in 1836.[26]

> Ado Dankwa is in Accra, Adum at Larteh. He gets more and more supporters except three villages among them Akropong. But even in Akropong, Adum has supporters. Therefore there are scenes of revenge and bitterness right in Akropong and one family after the other leaves the town to follow the then government of Adum under Danish protection. Akropong thus gradually becomes depopulated and rain ruins the abandoned houses. Adum, though supported by the Danes, cannot be enstooled, since the party of Ado Dankwa keeps the paraphernalia.

At this time, Riis was seen by the Danes as supporting Addo Dankwa, who had been the ruler when Riis first went to Akwapim. Riis argued that he was trying to be neutral, but this soured relations between the Danish authorities and the Basel Mission. Widmann, shortly after arrival in Akropong,[27]

> reported on October 1st 1843, that when he and another missionary were returning from a visit to Abiriw, they met "Duke" Adum in the evening heavily drunk and remarked that the "poor man is spoiling his game by drinking much -- no

> wonder that he is not respected." Earlier in the year when Widmann visited the Abiriwhene, Kwasi Taa, whom he described as the "high priest of Akwapim, who is also chief of Abiriw... a very considerate man" much discussion about the bad character of Adum took place between the two men. The missionaries also, on several occasions, had to intervene to save a number of arrested slaves kept in chains from being executed by Adum.

Later, however, the West Indians intervened to save the life of Adum. He was eventually exiled to Denmark in 1845 and peace returned to Akwapim for awhile. it is not clear whether the West Indians were deliberately taking a different side from the missionaries in these disputes. It was John Hall who hid Adum when he was fleeing for his life from his enemies.[28] A letter from Thompson indicated that Riis had threatened Adum with a gun so it may have been that Riis and the West Indians were on opposite sides of this dispute.[29] This is also supported by a letter from Widmann in which he states that:[30]

> ...even now in many places among the Negroes it is being told that Oshiodany (Riis) was guilty of the Akwapim affair. To what extent they are right or wrong I would rather keep my judgement to myself. The main reason why several of our West Indians helped to get Adum out of prison was the following: that they had heard the people in the village say, shortly after Riis had talked to them about Adum's matter, that Oshiodany had said one should kill Adum.

We will now elaborate on the implications of some of these different coalitions and relationships. First, the relationships of the West Indians with the Africans; second, the relationships of the missionaries and the Africans; and finally, the relationships of the missionaries and the West Indians.

THE WEST INDIANS AND THE AFRICANS

As mentioned earlier, the prevalence of Akan customs in Jamaica created an ambivalent situation for the West Indians. One could imagine that the temptation to identify with the Africans was quite strong. This is seen most clearly in the case of Jonas Hosford. Widmann stated that "he began to be with the natives in a way which hurt us deeply," but added, "he is otherwise very capable and has learned the language of the natives quite well."[31] A later letter indicated that one of the missionaries had reprimanded him for watching funerals and "pagan" performances.[32] Hosford resented this and ran away to British Accra. Apparently he was in and out of the mission during his five years' tenure and was one of the West Indians who wanted to return in 1848. Unfortunately, he died on the return trip.[33] The other West Indians apparently made more of an effort to keep away from African "superstition" -- at least in a public way.

Most poignant, perhaps, are the stories that have come down in Akwapim oral tradition about the West Indians who were able to trace their ancestors back to the Akwapim area. Although all of the West Indians had been born in Jamaica in the early nineteenth century, several of their parents had been brought directly from Africa. One story was that John Hall's father was from Dawu -- an Akwapim town, where he had been captured and sold into slavery. Another story was that John Rochester's mother was from Akwapim and had also been sold into slavery. Her African name was Akyeabea and she had somehow kept a diary with names which she had given to them before they left the West Indies to see if they could trace her origins. Still another account indicated that the mother of Mary Miller was from a part of Akropong called Kodumase and that she had also kept these place names in mind and asked the Millers to trace them when they went to Africa.[34] There are no letters in the Basel archives confirming these connections, but given the pattern of the slave trade, they are very possible. One wonders what must have gone through the minds of the West Indians if they did, indeed, find these evidences of their roots. In language and religion they were linked with the white missionaries, but in race and possible ancestral ties they were linked with the Africans -- truly a marginal community.

It was in the area of material culture, however, that this marginal group provided some genuine innovations that were picked up by the Africans. John Rochester had brought some seeds with him from Jamaica and soon the West Indians had introduced mangos, avocados and a new variety of coco-yam which became a staple in Akwapim.[35] This was later followed by more commercial crops such as coffee, groundnuts and eventually cocoa.

In life style, the West Indians were credited with teaching the[36]

> natives such industries as the building of substantial dwelling houses with stones and bricks, gardening and agriculture on improved lines, road-making, sawing, etc. and their own dwelling houses and gardens proved to be models to the natives.

But there was apparently some initial disagreement among the white missionaries as to whether or not the West Indians were to be models to the "natives" in their life styles or were to live like the Africans. Riis seemed to think that they should live like local Africans,[37] but, as Widmann pointed out, in pursuit of that objective, he denied the West Indians some of the necessities of life.[38]

> That we have had so many problems and complaints about our immigrants stems from Brother Riis' treatment of them, no matter from what side I view the matter, I must observe that he does not treat them in as brotherly and reprimanding a way and has not cared for their needs as would have been his duty.... They are supposed to be an exemplary community from which the heathens are to see that it is something different to serve the Lord instead of the Fetish. But the food was so little that these good people were compelled to sell some of the most necessary of their few belongings which they had brought along to eliminate their shortage in even the

> smallest way. Lately they have lacked proper clothing so much so that they had to walk about in rags and even the heathens commented about it not being good.... Brother Riis ...never requested anything specific for the immigrants and the society had given him the responsibility to care for these people.... Most of all, one must wonder that when one touches on the needs of the West Indians, especially their lack of clothing, Riis talks about saving and spiritual frugality, while one knows that in other matters where it would be more desirable he does not save, and he, besides all that, began a fight with his superiors in Basel over clothes. Such and more inconsistencies one could name easily, if one wanted. In Kingston he bought much superfluous and very expensive equipment for horses which is now useless since all but one of the horses are dead.

Some of these tensions will be examined later when we analyze relations between the West Indians and the missionaries. It is clear, however, that the new material life styles that were introduced by both the West Indians and the missionaries were some of the attractions of Christianity for the Africans. As some African students wrote to Basel:[39]

> Their houses, how we see it, are very pleasant, and if you could, you would see that is different between theirs and those of the heathens. Some of them also have wives and how they deal with their wives and how the wives deal with their husbands even this shows us also that it is a great benefit to be Christian.

Despite these attractions, it was not until Christmas 1847 that the Basel Mission had its first baptism of converts from Akwapim. This was close to the end of the West Indians' five year contract. In these early years, then, there was no community of African Christians at Akropong with whom the West Indians could interact. On the coast, however, there was a substantial Afro-European community with whom some of the West Indians later developed close ties, but in these early years those contacts were limited. In their relationships with the Africans, then, the West Indians faced an ambivalent situation. Admonished to stay away from African superstition, many of the practices they encountered were familiar ones from the creole folk culture in Jamaica; some even found family ties in Akwapim. Also they came from a different material culture and were to be models to the Africans, but initially were not given the resources to do this, so that the Africans looked down on them for not having proper clothing.

Some of these contradictions came to the fore in complaints over compensation for their work. It had been agreed that the West Indians would do most of the physical work in setting up the mission station -- building the houses and farming the crops and providing domestic services. This would free the missionaries for the work of learning the language, teaching and evangelization. For the first two years, they were to have their needs provided for in exchange for their work. In 1845 a new agreement was drawn up in which payments were specified for certain jobs such as sawing boards, doing laundry, etc.[40] Also items of clothing were to be given to the West Indians under the terms of this new agreement. But Africans were also working for the mission and apparently the West Indians thought they should receive more for their work than the Africans. In 1847 there was a "palaver" over higher salaries led by Mullings.[41] Widmann mentioned that the West Indians felt they should get three times what the Africans were getting and he attributes this to the "psychology of colonists." Here again, the West Indians appear to be trying to set some boundaries between themselves and Africans.

THE WHITE MISSIONARIES AND THE AFRICANS

The white missionaries had a less ambivalent relationship to the Africans. The Africans of Akropong were there to be saved and had no shared cultural and ancestral ties with the Europeans. The primary point of contact with the Africans was in the schools. In November of 1843, George Thompson and his wife opened a school in Christiansborg on the coast with 33 boys and 7 girls.[42] Alex Clerk helped them for awhile but later went to Akropong and started the school there with Widmann. The first students were the children of the West Indians and two Akropong boys.[43] By 1845 they had 12 boys. By 1847 the school had grown to 37 African girls, 25 African boys and 7 West Indians.[44]

Another technique the missionaries used was to take young boys to live in their homes.

Although it is not possible to trace the background of all of these early students and eventual converts, it appears that many of them were the "disinherited" of Akwapim society -- but at two different levels. One of the first Africans mentioned was a Sakyiama who apparently was a slave and was in danger of being sold again. One of the missionaries bought him "free for 10 rigsdalers and sent him to Osu to learn shoe making."[45] Several years later they "bought" Tetteh Quashie whom they trained as a locksmith. He then went to work on Fernando Po and is credited with bringing back to Ghana some cocoa seedlings and, together with the support of the Basel Mission, starting the agricultural revolution that transformed southern Ghana.[46]

At the other level were sons of royalty who, in this matrilineal system, had no access to state office. Royal officials were chosen from branches of the ruling matrilineal clan in which descent was traced through mothers and sisters. Sons of the Okuampemhene, the ruler of Akwapim, were sometimes given bureaucratic duties or married off to royal women. With the introduction of Christian missionaries and the schools, the royal men may have seen these institutions as providing mobility for their sons. At any rate, one of the first converts to be baptized in 1847 was David Asante who was the son of a former Okuampemhene, Owusu Akyem. Asante became one of the leading evangelists of the early church. Kwamena-Poh discusses his career and links to the royal house.[47]

> The case of David Asante, one of the first Africans to be ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana is of particular interest. He was the son of Owusu Akyem (Okuampemhene Adum's cousin and heir)....

> David Asante was "adopted" by the missionaries after Owusu Akyem's death at Christiansborg. During his lifetime, Owusu Akyem himself had shown some interest in the work of the missionaries at Akuropon. Widmann reported several visits he paid to him, gifts of two sheep he presented to them on August 13, 1843, and remarked that he was a "good man... and though he listens to the Gospel it is difficult for a man of his position to accept the word of God." However his son was to become "the stalwart David Asante" of the Presbyterian Church of Ghana.

Another son of a royal was Jonathan Palmer who was baptized in July 1848. His father was a prominent elder in Akropong. One of the missionaries gave a moving account of Jonathan's father's death in 1851:[48]

> Yesterday evening the father of our student Jonathan died -- an honest councilor and elder of the town of Akropong. Today he was buried. He had often heard the word of God, accepted by his baptized son and had also surrendered more of his children to us. He himself could not take that step, although when we visited him in his illness, he held that the word of God was valid. There was a great custom at his funeral. However, he had said that his son Jonathan should not attend the event and that it would be better if he left Akropong for that day if he felt weak and unable to resist the temptation to participate.

In this matrilineal society, one of the ways in which the paternal line was recognized was the presence and participation of a man's children at his funeral. This, then, was truly a remarkable concession on the part of this elder. But both of these cases show that prominent royals were influenced by the missionaries and saw in the mission opportunity for their sons who were excluded from inheritance to their offices.

One of the concerns of the missionaries was that the male converts should have female converts as wives. Yet they had much more trouble in converting the women and girls. A letter from Widmann's wife describes this difficulty and her work in teaching the girls.[49]

> The group of girls who come to school and for whom the noble woman friend in Basel provided for so lovingly, for which we are very thankful, increases and numbers already over 30. For the most part they show much enthusiasm for learning, mainly sewing. For some time now I have been giving them lessons not only in womanly work but also in reading and arithmetic and alternate in both.... The eleven year old Rosann Miller, whose parents now also want to stay here and whom I teach womanly work in the days of vacation so that she can be employed later as a teacher, is already now a big help to me in the school. The Lord has helped me in language to such an extent that I am able to tell the girls short stories from the Bible in their mother tongue.... It hurts me that thus far not one of these girls has decided to prove and show that they have withdrawn from the service of the fetish by allowing themselves to be baptized to live for and serve Jesus Christ.... The girls were more attached to their religion, if one could call it that, than the boys and are, therefore, much more superstitious. Two of them are in the meantime working with us and are thus under our immediate supervision.

Here also one can see the combined practice of teaching students in the school and taking a few into the households of the missionaries. Not surprisingly, the attitude expressed toward the religion of the Africans is one of contempt. However, as the missionaries became more fluent in the local languages, they became more appreciative of the richness of the languages and the sophistication of some of the religious concepts and the different levels of spiritual beings in Akan religion.[50] Given the basic assumptions of a Christian evangelizing mission, however, there would be no way that they could accept the equal validity of the African world view.

The missionaries, too, were certainly aware that much of their appeal lay in the presentation of an alternative life style in a material sense. They clothed the children who came to their schools and we have already mentioned the attraction of the new styles of houses. The Akwapim name for Riis was "Osiadan" or Builder. This is not to deny that close personal relationships, tinged with paternalism, developed between the missionaries and particularly those converts they took into their homes. One missionary mentions how much he missed Jonathan Palmer when he was sent to Aburi. "I feel the loss. He has become a fine lad."[51] These new converts really did become "adopted" sons of the mission and took on the names of some of the missionaries as their baptismal names.

THE MISSIONARIES AND THE WEST INDIANS

The key dynamic in inter-relationships in the first five years of the colonization experiment, however, was between the West Indians and the European missionaries. It appears that the relationship between Riis and the West Indians was marked by almost total conflict. We have already mentioned how he denied them certain necessary provisions. Widmann, in a letter written two years after their arrival, states:[52]

> Concerning the condition and the mood of our emigrants it is at present difficult to give an objective report. Because of the unfortunate disagreements and because Brother Riis sees in them only the bad and not the good, they are very discouraged so that they have a great longing and desire to return to Jamaica. That will change, however, when they find themselves in different circumstances and are treated differently. I, for one, have seen that when I have advised them with love and have admonished them with conviction, it has borne fruit. I have heard from several sides already that if Riis had been alone with them,

> they would not have known what would become of them.

Earlier, in January of 1845, the West Indians had written the Basel Mission in Switzerland saying they wanted to return to Jamaica.[53] a year later, however, Widmann was able to write that "The West Indians are our consolation and encouragement."[54]

By this time Riis had been recalled by the mission. As a historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ghana assessed his contribution,[55]

> Riis grew difficult to work with. The death of his child, the political unrest, the burden of leadership, coupled with his own and his wife's failing health, led him to become overbearing and intolerant.... He was criticised by his colleagues for his autocratic attitude toward both Africans and Europeans.... Persistent reports from his fellow missionaries critical of his leadership finally determined the committee at the end of 1845 to recall him to Basel for discussions. By the time the letter reached Akropong, however, Riis had left of his own accord in a bitter frame of mind.... At home he was adjudged by the committee to have disobeyed their express instructions not to use gunpowder and muskets as articles of barter and his services were dispensed with.... With all his faults, Andreas Riis was a missionary pioneer of the first rank; without his faith and endurance, the mission would not have been begun; without his energy, his planning and leadership the second venture would not have been established.

Apparently the West Indians did not include all of the other missionaries in their distrust. As Widmann put it:[56]

> Two years have passed now and the emigrants were to be in a different situation, i.e. they were not to be supported by the mission any

> more, but rather work for a wage; but the people have not had the means yet to acquire clothing for themselves, so an agreement about that and the work was to be made with them. But the people demanded, and rightly so, since they know Riis, that this decision should not come from him alone but also from us other missionaries... they had seen in Jamaica how such matters were always discussed together with all the missionaries.... Amongst other things they said that "In Jamaica, the missionaries treated us in a brotherly, yes, fatherly way, and this gave us the courage to go confidently to Africa with Mr. Riis, against all the discouragement of our friends who prophesized evil, but we were wrong about Mr. Riis."

After the 1845 agreement on wages and clothing and Riis' departure, things settled down for a time. In 1847, just before the West Indians were to decide about returning to Jamaica, conflicts arose again over their terms of payment which we described earlier. This seemed to reflect a deeper division -- not only between the Europeans and the West Indians, but among the West Indians themselves. Most of the Europeans were trained in teaching, linguistics or theology, whereas most of the West Indians were manual laborers or artisans. Thus class differences were grafted onto differences of race, language, nationality and religious practices. The West Indians who had been trained as teachers -- Catherine Thompson and Alex Clerk -- seemed to have the most in common with the Europeans and got high praise. Even Riis described Catherine Thompson as "pious and good hearted, a good teacher, faithful wife and believing soul; an honor to our missions."[57] Widmann, although describing Clerk as "slower" than Jonas Hosford, said that he had a "better character."[58] Apparently the missionaries had had high hopes for Hosford until he became too fascinated by the local culture and attended festivals and funerals.

If Riis was generous in his praise of Catherine Thompson, he was much more harsh in his assessment of her husband, George. He wrote the mission that he could tell many a story about Thompson.[59] But Widmann felt that "all the comments which Riis wrote home about Brother Thompson resulted more or less from bitterness and suspicion and were taken out of context so that they had to appear objectionable."[60] And another missionary commented -- after Riis had left -- that "Riis had mocked him and accused him."[61] This same missionary also mentioned that Riis had an illegitimate child in Christiansborg. Perhaps Riis' guilt over this may have been projected on Thompson. At any rate, Thompson did begin to "fall" repeatedly and in 1846 confessed to several incidents of adultery. He was, however, a very gifted teacher and described as "the best schoolmaster."[62] Another missionary mentioned that Thompson had "been the reason why I entered the mission."[63] He and his wife separated and then were reconciled, but he "fell" again and Catherine Thompson was finally granted a divorce in 1849.[64] Thompson left the mission and although he earlier could have worked for a trader on the coast, he was in despair and jobless for some time. One missionary mentioned later that:[65]

> Thompson had fallen so low for a time no one wanted to give him a job and he was near suicide.... I tried to contact him and have employed him personally. He is engaged to an African girl and I will help him pay for her.

Through all this his former wife, Catherine, is described as a "model in fidelity and piety."[66]

In this initial five year period, the relationships between the West Indians and the European missionaries, seemed to be marked by individual idiosyncracies. Riis totally antagonized both the West Indians and the other missionaries. Although there were certain patterned differences between the two groups in occupation, race, religious rituals and language and nationality, people were seen and judged as individuals. Catherine Thompson was pious and a model of behavior; Alex Clerk had good character and was a diligent teacher; Jonas Hosford was bright and gifted but "troubled"; Mullings was the ring leader in the "palaver" over higher pay; Rosina Miller was a good helper to Mrs. Widmann; Thompson was an excellent school master, but prone to adultery.

This emphasis on individuals was no doubt facilitated by the small size of the mission and the fact that the West Indians far outnumbered the Europeans. Riis and his wife, Widmann and Halleur, who left after a short time, were the only European missionaries in Akropong in the initial period. They were joined in 1845 by Three bachelors -- Sebald, H. N. Riis, and Schiedt. Sebald died after a few months, Riis returned to Europe after a year and a half, and Schiedt replaced Thompson in Accra. Widmann then was the only European missionary in Akropong until 1847 when he was joined by four more bachelors, Dieterle, Meischel, Stanger, Mohr and a single woman, Rosina Binder who became Widmann's wife on Jan. 21, 1847.[67]

Soon a new phase would begin in the life of the mission. The little community had survived five years with only two deaths -- David Robinson, one of the West Indian bachelors had died in 1844, shortly after their arrival[68] and Sebald, one of the European bachelors, died in 1845. This was truly a remarkable record given the earlier experience of the mission. The first Africans were converted and baptized in 1847. The physical and emotional support provided by the West Indians had been a determining factor in this initial survival and success and the Europeans had become quite dependent on them. Now the West Indians had to decide whether or not to return to Jamaica.

In a letter written in July of 1847, the Halls are mentioned as the only family who had agreed to remain in Akropong.[69] A month earlier an agreement had been drawn up stipulating the conditions under which they were to either return or remain. They were to give notice of their intentions by the first of July 1847 and from that time until April of 1848, arrangements would be made to book them a passage on a ship to the West Indies. This would be paid for by the Basel Mission Society. Their houses would be kept in repair and they would be paid 14 strings of cowries daily when their labor was required by the mission.

For those who chose to remain, it is perhaps worth quoting those conditions in detail.[70]

For those staying in this country -- I. The Society will engage to build stone houses for the brothers staying in this country. Those houses which are to be built shall contain 3 rooms each and will be farther removed from each other than those old ones they are living in now. Those stone houses will be kept in repair by the brethren themselves.

II. All those brethren staying in the country requested to do any work for the mission to receive 15 strings per day. The Mission, however, will by no means under no conditions engage to find any work for the Brethren, for that, which they work and how they arrange things to get their living by, it is altogether left to themselves.

III. The Mission is ready to buy a piece of land for those Brethren not returning to the West Indies which will be given over to them and their children as their real property.

IV. If any of the Brethren, so far advanced in age that he is no more able to do any hard work, the Society will according to the circumstances of the individual support him with about 1 dollar per month.

V. In case any family should be deprived by the mysterious dealing of Divine Providence of Father or Mother, the missionary of the Station will charge himself with paternal or maternal duties respecting the education, etc. of the father or motherless children.

VI. The children of those Brethren staying in the country are allowed to learn any trade, suitable upon the expenses of the Society, so that they afterwards may deserve their own bread in an honourable way, independent upon the Society.

Dated, Accra, June 4, 1847

It was clear that the missionaries were trying to offer inducements to stay -- by providing new housing and land, protection for elderly and orphans and training for their children and by not restricting them to work only for the Mission. More explicit arm twisting occurred. Walker complained later that in April 1847 Rev. Meischel had told him it was time for him and others to make up their minds whether to stay or return. Meischel said he needed them and would be left alone if they went. Walker discussed this with his wife and they agreed to stay two more years if the Mission would send them home after that, and Walker said it was up to Meischel to write to the Mission for that agreement. Meischel did not, and Walker felt he had been betrayed.[71] He and his family did stay for a few more years, but he eventually left the Mission and went to Cape Coast.[72] The missionaries, in anticipating more expenses for the West Indians' houses if they stayed, wrote to the Basel Mission as follows:[73]

> Since we will need considerably more money for the building of the houses as well as the purchase of the land than is allowed for these stations, the conference asks the dear committee to let us soon have the necessary sum.... In Akropong, the Brothers Rochester and Mullings have decided to stay. We had already before talked about the two, especially Mullings returning because of their bad conduct but the majority of the missionaries changed their minds and thinks now that they have proven to be good colonists and they will more and more comply. Brother Miller has often talked about wanting to return, but he still sways and we cannot be certain whether he will decide in the time for reflection to stay or not. We would not lose much if he left, but we like his whole family. The Brothers Green and Walker have not decided on going or staying either.

It is not clear what induced the West Indians to change their minds to stay, but only Jonas Hosford and the Green family returned to the West Indies.[74] Hosford, who by then had become mentally disturbed, died on the return trip. There were now five West Indian families in the

Akropong mission community -- the Walkers, the Rochesters, the Halls, the Millers and the Mullings. Alex Clerk was in Accra along with the Thompsons who did not finally separate until 1849.

LONG-TERM PROBLEMS WITH THE COMMUNITY

The mission community began to settle in for a more permanent stay. This created new long term problems. One of the most pivotal of these concerned questions of marriage and the next generation. The majority of the Europeans were bachelors. The majority of the West Indians were married, but there were several single people among them -- Alex Clerk, Catherine Thompson who would soon be divorced and Anna Rochester who had never married. The children of some of the West Indians were also growing up. Rosina Miller was 12 years old in 1848. Then there were the new converts to consider. All were men and as much as the mission would have liked to find African women converts for them, they had had no luck so far in converting any women.

The question of marriage is important because the way in which a "pool of eligibles" is defined says much about the way in which group boundaries are set. As this community was becoming more institutionalized, would it become an endogamous or exogamous unit? Would racial and ethnic divisions become more pronounced as people sought to marry within their race or nationality? Or would inter-marriage occur, binding together different groups? These are not just abstract questions of sociological theory, but practical questions that concerned the Basel Mission -- a question that concerns any missionary group in a foreign culture. If one is preaching universal brotherhood what better way to practice it than encouraging inter-marriage with the local converts? Yet this rarely happens with Christian missionaries and much attention is devoted to setting up boarding schools for the children of such missionaries where they are likely to meet future mates of a similar religious, racial and national background. But we are dealing now with the early period of the missionary enterprise and such attitudes had not yet crystallized. Serious thought was given in Basel to the question of bachelor missionaries marrying local converts and Kimble, in his history of the Gold Coast from 1850 to 1928, mentions that some Basel missionaries did marry African wives.[75]

This became an issue for the early Basel Mission in the Gold Coast when an enthusiastic new missionary, Johannes Zimmerman, arrived in 1850. He was stationed in Osu, in Accra, and immediately stated "Almost everything around here is too European for me. I would prefer, as much as Christianity allows it, to become a Negro to win the Negroes."[76] He was more impressed with Akropong than Accra:[77]

> The situation in Akropong pleased me; there are several quite valiant apprentices there. The two marriages are also quite happy and blessed and the brothers and sisters live quite intimately together in one household.... Oh if only you could come here once, how you would enjoy seeing this lovingly blooming Christian village on the hill.

But there was also some dissension in Akropong and much of it centered around the delayed marriages of two of the brethren.[78]

> I must with the permission of the brothers, inform you of an important point about which we could not quite agree. It is their relationship to the honourable committee. They don't have confidence in, don't have an open heart any longer toward it, even though I discovered with pleasure that this pains them and that they still have much love for the committee.... They referred to their marriage story. In view of their already advanced age and some difficulty in the brotherly community at that time, they asked for permission to marry... the negative answer of Inspector Hofmann had been so painful that it still hurts, all the more so since after his letter to them there had been silence and no correspondence for many years. In addition, they said, their need on which they based their request was not seen by the committee as one

> of the spiritual aspect of marriage, but rather one of the temptations and desires of the flesh and it was not even kept silent so that the brides had to hear it in one place or the other in the most painful way.

Zimmerman continued the argument in his next letter:[79]

> It seemed to me as if at last the request to take a wife any time should be permitted by the dearest fathers (this is not denied even a bodily son) so that not 3 or more years must pass before a brother who often finds himself in the worst conditions which make the union with a wife much more desirable, indeed, more necessary than in the conditions in the homeland. I agreed with the brothers also from my own personal experience that a man who would contemplate slowly at home the matters of marriage, if he were here would advise otherwise.... I believe that a missionary who is married, if both are in the service of the Lord, can, since then he also has an open door to the feminine sex and is in a position, with a housemother by his side, to take in whom and how many he pleases, do so much with his wife as two single brothers, so that in my estimation it is not as expensive, yes even if the Lord bestows the brothers with children, as one often sees in the often very impractical households of single people.

As can be seen from these letters, the Committee in Basel exercised complete control over the marriages of their missionaries. The missionaries were not even expected to make a request for a wife until they had served for two years. They could make suggestions for an appropriate person, but these were rarely carried out. Widmann had begun his first request for a bride in 1845 and had proposed that "one of the daughters of the family Klauber at Boeblingen" would be appropriate.[80] The committee chose another woman, Rosina Binder and she was sent out two years later in February 1847. The marriage was an apparent success. She and Widmann had twelve children.[81] The three bachelors, Mohr, Dieterle and Meischel began making requests for wives in 1847 with Dieterle wistfully suggesting that he knew a Sophia Weigel. "Might she not be the person the Lord wanted for me."[82] He also added later that "Mrs. Widmann works hard and we have a good relation to her, but for my own needs I still need a wife."[83] Finally, in 1850, they were sent brides, but Sophia Wiegel was not among them.

Zimmerman apparently felt his single state even more acutely after observing the marriages of his colleagues. In 1851 he became gravely ill and Catherine Mulgrave Thompson - George Thompson's former wife -- nursed him through his illness. After her divorce she remained in Osu as a teacher for the girls, but her situation as a divorced woman had been a cause for concern. Zimmerman, after his recovery from his illness, decided that he and Catherine Thompson should be married. From the viewpoint of the Committee in Basel, this would have been highly irregular. It would have eliminated the two year waiting period and the power of the Committee to make the decision. However, the missionaries in the field concurred with Zimmerman's wishes. Stanger wrote from Osu[84]

> I believe to be able to say that I have gotten to know Mrs. Mulgrave well during the time in which she was referred to me in my pastoral duties and that she, although not very talented, is nevertheless very loyal and diligent in the fulfillment of her duties and with that has come so far as to be able to replace European women in every respect, if need be. In some instances (she) even offers advantages, which are not at all unimportant, a fact which you have learned form earlier reports. I believe, therefore, that Zimmerman has done well by her....
>
> You are probably very interested to hear how the situation is viewed here... one of the elders, who inspires great confidence and is asked for advice by Mulattos and Negroes, talked to Brother Zimmerman and me about Mrs. Mulgrave. He said someone should take this woman. It is not right that we allow her to

> be all alone. We could of course not respond to that at the time. But since it is now known, it has met with general approval. What concerns Brother Zimmerman, I have noticed that it will be good for him to have a little ball chained to his feet in this way.

Stanger also added that they had been afraid that they would lose Catherine Thompson to the Wesleyan community through marriage since "she is well known to them and greatly respected."

Another missionary, Mader, also added his support:[85]

> Brother Zimmerman surprised me with the uncanny news of his engagement.... I cannot object to his undertaking, but rather agree with his assertions that he is acting for the sake of the Mission and his occupation.... Zimmerman is still the circumspect, glowing ideal and also real mission man, enthusiastic about the Mission as always. He seems to have gotten even more courageous because of his illness; if anyone sacrifices his personal interests for the sake of the well being of the whole, the matters of the Mission, it is he.

And finally, Zimmerman, himself, explained his decision:[86]

> Already, in my homeland, I often thought about whether it would not be advisable for a missionary, especially in Africa, to marry a converted native, if he considered marriage at all. I spoke about it with the brothers as well as before our departure with Inspector Josenhaus. The general view was that such a step would have some advantages, but that such a brother would have to consider it well and would have to give up much. With such a sentiment, I arrived here. Soon I saw in which unfortunate situation Frau Mulgrave found herself. We brothers often talked about it -- that it would be our duty to take care of her.... (It) would be best if one of

> the brothers would have the enthusiasm to marry her. I was not only expected to wait, but also was not inclined nor had I enthusiasm, although I was able to love Frau Mulgrave as a sister in Christ. Then I became ill and thought more about dying than marrying.... I went to Frau Mulgrave after the Lord had removed several obstacles out of my way and asked for her hand, with reservations of the permission of the Dear Committee. But at the same time, I considered myself obligated to tell her, because of her special circumstances, that in case the Dear Committee would not agree and she would prefer not to take back her word of acceptance, I would keep my word to her.... Without my own household, I cannot bring my apprentices, now six, in Christian order. I cannot teach them correctly. Single, it is too difficult, while Frau Mulgrave is very suitable for this.

With overwhelming support from colleagues in the field, Zimmerman and Catherine Mulgrave's marriage was allowed by the Basel Committee. Later Zimmerman wrote of his happiness in his marriage:[87]

> Should I be so free and say a few words about my domestic situation. I must say that I am as happy in marriage with my dear African wife as I could ever have expected. She is a faithful soul tested by much sorrow. The sufferings which Thompson caused her, were not her only ones. Many a door has been opened in my job; many a difficulty lessened through this union.

By all accounts, this was a happy and prosperous marriage. Catherine had had two children from her marriage to Thompson -- Rosina and George -- whom Zimmerman helped raise and she and Zimmerman had six children, one of whom died in infancy. She died in Accra in 1891.[88]

The Zimmerman-Mulgrave marriage may have been one of the few marriages among the Basel Mission based on prior acquaintance and previous respect and affection. As we have seen, the marriages of the other missionaries were arranged by the Committee. The missionaries, in turn, tried to control and arrange the marriages of those under their tutelage -- the West Indians, the coastal converts and the Akwapim converts. With the exception of Catherine Mulgrave, the later marriages of the West Indians remained within racial boundaries, but cut across ethnic boundaries.

Alex Clerk was a source of concern for the missionaries when a tragic incident occurred which focused their concern. Anna Rochester, the sister of John Rochester, had come with the group as a washer-woman. She was single and close to Alex Clerk's age. They became involved briefly and as a result she became pregnant. She hid her condition until she was nearly ready to deliver and then died in childbirth. This shook the little community -- even more so when it came out that Alex Clerk was the father. The missionaries forced Clerk to confess before them and even before his students. This was a shattering experience for him, but since he showed so much repentance, the missionaries became more understanding.[89] Years later, in writing his autobiography for the mission, Clerk obliquely referred to this experience:[90]

> Through the deceitfulness of the Devil and the weakness of my frail nature, not long after I had been at Akropong, I fell into gross sins, the remembrance of which caused me the deepest grief and sorrows and shows me more fully how I need the Apostle's admonition, "Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

Shortly after this experience he married a mulatto woman from the Osu community. They founded a dynasty of church workers and educators in the Gold Coast. Nicholas Clerk was their son and he led a long and productive life as a minister and evangelist.[91] He was trained in Basel and became the first Synod Clerk of the Gold Coast Presbyterian church after the Basel Missionaries were forced to leave during World War I. A Clerk daughter, Mrs. Swaniker, became one of the first teachers in the Accra Government Girls' School.

The Millers were less fortunate in marrying off their daughter Rosina. At first Mr. Miller had wanted her to marry Jonas Hosford or Alexander Clerk and keep her family in the West Indian community. The missionaries objected to this. As Miller put it in a letter to Basel[92]

> They say Jonas is a liar, a thief and a whoremonger.... And in the year 1850 Mr. Dieterle came into me now to ask for my daughter to be given to a native boy called Jonathan Palmer. Two times I went in the town I saw him knocking drum for the custom. But I did not consent it.

He also did not want her to marry anyone from the Afro-American community at the coast.[93]

> There are plenty of the mulattoes which married in the Coasts and after two or three years left their married wives and running about from place to place. Moreover Mrs. Widmann told me that my daughter would died (sic) just like Anna Rochester who died in fornication and then Sir what would you think of it? I would not like to stay here and see my daughter died (sic) in fornication.

His wife added her concern and explained their decision to stay in Africa:

> We had agreed on Jonas Hosford. When the missionaries heard it they quickly called a conference and send (sic) him home, namely this Jonas, purposing to give our daughter to a native boy named Jonathan who has no character at all. As we refused it, it caused (such) solemn wrath among the missionaries that it is amazing.... When the five years was over that it was agreed that we should return home to Jamaica, when I heard that my husband, he would go, I begged him hardly to stay for my children's sake that they may be educated and become somewhat serviceable to the vineyard of Jesus Christ.

This problem festered in Miller's mind for a long time and he became quite bitter about it, feeling he had been misled into staying in Africa. In 1855 he wrote that he was being treated this way because he was Black:[94]

> All this (no reply) shows me that just because I am a black man or a negro therefore all my cry nobody (sic) do regard it. What is a Negro? If I had been a white man, I would never crys (sic) twice but I would be soon heard and relieved. If the great God above did abused (sic) the black people in such manner as they are abused in the world, then no black people would live under the Sun.... I was not sold to you nor sent here as a criminal that I shall (sic) be treated thus.... Where is Mr. Edward Walker that is in the number come (sic) with us. Where is he now?

Mrs. Miller added, "The cry that my husband makes to you daily, is it a music in your ears? If it is pleasant in your ears, it is not so pleasant in mine." It is not clear from the available information if Rosina ever married, but she did get an education and became one of the founders of the Accra Girls School.

As indicated in the Miller letter, Walker also began to feel that he had been misled by the missionaries into staying, and in his letters to the Basel Mission, brings up the question of race.[95]

> Dear Rev. Sirs: Please to look at this matter and see how a wite (sic) man can do with a poor black man. Because he knows that whosoever he write to, they will believe his words more than mine.

The Rochesters, like the Clerks, contributed to one of the leading church families in the Gold Coast, but in a more indirect way. John Rochester became involved with a woman of the royal house of Akwapim and divorced his West Indian wife in 1851.[96] A daughter of this second marriage became the wife of Rev. Edward Samson who was a leading evangelist and arbitrator in the Akwapim area and wrote a history of Akwapim.[97] The Adades, a family of ministers and teachers, are descended from the Samsons. The Halls, also, made a valuable contribution to the growing church in the Gold Coast. Their son, Peter, born in 1851, was trained at the Akropong Seminary and preached in Akwapim and the Volta Region and was the first moderator of the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast.[98] The head of the remaining family -- Mullings -- had earlier been pegged as a trouble-maker by the missionaries. He and his family continued to work for the mission, but information on his descendants is scanty.

Given the available information, then, it appears that there was only one marriage that cut across racial boundaries -- that of Catherine Mulgrave and Johannes Zimmerman. The rest of the West Indian Community and European missionaries married within racial categories -- the European missionaries with other Europeans and the West Indians with coastal Afro-Europeans or African converts.

By this time -- the 1950s -- the mission had not only survived, but was beginning to prosper economically:[99]

> By 1850, at Akropong, a small Mission settlement was in being, a coffee plantation had begun to yield well, progress had been made in learning the Twi language and both the school and seminary had begun to flourish. The tendency for Christian converts to build their houses in or near the 'mission quarters' led to the emergence of what may be called a Christian suburb, or "Salem" in most of the towns of Akwapim.... Many of the houses were built of stone with shingle roofs and were laid out in straight streets around the church and the school.

As we have shown, however, as this community became more established and institutionalized, boundaries based on race began to become more pronounced -- both through patterns of marriage and expressions of bitterness. The missionaries began to reveal implicit racial assumptions. Early on, in referring to some problems with George Thompson, the missionaries wrote:[100]

> Concerning Thompson, the decision of the committee that he cannot have a boy as servant has been realized. So far he has conducted himself quite well on the whole; but he still does not show real expression of thorough penance and conversion. But we cannot expect of him, a Negro, what we do of a European.

Even Zimmerman, full of enthusiasm to "become a Negro to win Negroes," writes:[101]

> Continuous Christian intercourse with the Negro will do great things because he is a child in every respect and has to be taught to be a Christian; then the intercourse has to be fatherly not masterly as is usually the case here. The Negro adapts in a childlike way and imitates the good as well as the bad in a child like fashion. this is apparent in the patriarchal arrangement of all the circumstances of the Negro, which are almost as strong as the caste system of the Hindu.... What is childlike and simple is best for the Negro.

In reference to the West Indians, Zimmerman also generalized:[102]

> The West Indians are dear people, but they do not lend themselves to larger undertakings; they are too weak and will need always or at least for a long time, European love.

One wonders how European love differs from West Indian or African love.

When problems arose with the European missionaries, they were seen by the Europeans as individual problems, e.g. Riis was not accused of being mad "like all Danes." But with the West Indians, Africans or Thompson, a Liberian, statements were increasingly being made about the Negro race in general, and the responses of the West Indians, on an individual basis, followed some of the same patterns seen in contemporary responses to racism -- withdrawal, dependency, assimilation, nationalism and despair. The resentment of Miller and Walker to paternalistic treatment took two directions. Walker left to lead an independent life while Miller became more dependent, continually complaining to the missionaries and the Mission Committee in Basel. Alex Clerk took still another approach. Perhaps because of his earlier training in Jamaica, or perhaps because of his devastating experience in the Anna Rochester case, he had internalized some of the European attitudes toward Blacks and had assimilated into a Western Life style. In his autobiography, he referred to his childhood in which he as "guilty of the same wicked and naughty acts as other children of the fallen race."[103] In an earlier letter describing his work he stated, "It does not a little gratify me now not only that I have to do with Christian children as was my occupation in Jamaica, but also to be used by the Lord, as an instrument for the education and perhaps conversion of the poor benighted race of my forefathers children, the Africans."[104]

The incipient patterns of racism were there along with some typical responses to it. The more pious and compliant of the original West Indians - Catherine Mulgrave and Alex Clerk -- were quite well integrated and assimilated into the missionary community. Those who appear to have been more intellectually gifted and creative -- George Thompson and Jonas Hosford -- were forced out of the community. One went mad and the other became almost suicidal. The other West Indians, manual workers, were caught between the Africans and Europeans. They attempted in terms of wages, life styles and religious practices to set themselves apart as distinctive from the Africans. Eventually, however, it was the African community which they and their descendants joined and to which they contributed in a permanent way.

Although the mid-nineteenth century was not the time of nationalistic sentiment in the Gold Coast, in the post World War I Gold Coast, there was a growing nationalist movement and the descendants of Clerk, Hall and Miller played important roles in this. Nicholas Clerk and Peter Hall were leaders of the Presbyterian Church when attempts were being made to Africanize the church and break away from being a mission church.[105] Nicholas Clerk advocated wearing African dress, singing

African hymns and more power in the governance of the church. Miller's great grandchild was Dr. Nanka-Bruce who was a highly respected doctor in Accra in the 1920s and a leader in the nationalist movement of that time.[106]

But this is not the whole story. If there were incipient and open signs of division and racism in this missionary community, there were also signs of co-operation and understanding across racial and cultural lines. Zimmerman perhaps illustrates these contradictory tendencies best. He married a Black woman in one of the few marriages of choice among the missionaries and he was fascinated by African cultures and languages. His letters contain detailed anthropological data on everything from hair styles to customs surrounding pregnant women. He also tried to trace the African origins of his wife.[107] Later Basel missionaries continued his tradition of recording cultural practices and becoming linguistic experts. The Basel missionary, Christaller, compiled a Twi Dictionary which is a veritable encyclopedia of Akan life in the 19th century. Even Zimmerman's comments about the father-child relationship of Europeans to Africans need to be seen in the context of the highly authoritarian Basel mission structure where the Inspector and Committee were the Father to the missionary Children.

These fragile bridges of cross-cultural understanding remained a sub-theme, however, as the powerful forces of colonial domination and the racism that accompanied it set the tone for the Gold Coast of the latter 19th century and 20th century. Yet the "Shining City on a Hill" envisioned by the Basel Mission had its moments. A community of flawed human beings -- of different races, nationalities, and cultures -- survived and even prospered in an alien environment and, in the end, contributed to the creation of an independent and nationalistic Ghanaian culture.

ENDNOTES

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3. Ibid., p. 8.
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6. M. A. Kwamena-Poh. Government and Politics in the Akwapim State: 1730-1850. London: Longmans, 1973, p. 111.
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11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., p. 258.

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14. Centenary Sketch, p. cit., p. 11.

15. Letter from Rev. Jacob Zorn to Rev. Latrobe, Dec. 26, 1842. Africa III, Bound Letters, Basel Mission. Letters will be annotated by the name of the correspondent, the date and the volume in which they are found in the archives. All the letters are written to the Central Committee in Basel unless otherwise noted.

16. Alex Clerk's Biography, 1855, Africa VII.

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18. Letter from Rev. Jacob Zorn to Rev. Latrobe, Jan. 5, 1843, Africa III.

19. Ibid.

20. See "The Folk Culture of the Slaves" in Braithwaite, 212-239.

21. Debrunner's translation of contract between the mission society and the West Indian Christians going to Africa with Riis, Widmann and Thompson from Jamaica, Jan. 4, 1843, Africa III.

22. Centenary Sketch, pp. 12-13.

23. Ibid., p. 14.

24. Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965, p. 51.

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27. Ibid.

28. Centenary Sketch, p. 17.

29. George Thompson, Sept. 12, 1844, Africa III.

30. Widmann, May 26, 1845, Africa II.

31. Widmann, May 26, 1845.

32. Dieterle, Feb. 17, 1848, Africa III.

33. Centenary Sketch, p. 18.

34. Interview with Rev. Thomas Adade, a descendant of the West Indians, Aug. 1974, Akropong-Akwapim, Ghana.

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37. Sebald, May 1845, Africa III.

38. Widmann, May 25, 1945, Africa III.

39. Students at Akropong, Dec. 1, 1855, Africa VII.

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49. Rosli Widmann, Aug. 5, 1848, Africa III.

50. Zimmerman, July 18, 1851, Africa IV and Dieterle, Mohr, Suss and Mader, July 1, 1851, Africa IV.

51. Dieterle, Jan. 25, 1849, Africa IV.

52. Widmann, May 25, 1845, Africa III.

53. Letter from West Indians, Jan. 17, 1845, Africa III.

54. Widmann, Jan 8, 1846, Africa III.

55. Noel Smith "The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ghana, 1835-1960" as quoted in Kwamena-Poh, p. 117.

56. Widmann, May 26, 1845, Africa III.

57. Riis, Nov. 6, 1843, Africa III.

58. Widmann, Jan 8, 1846, Africa III.

59. Riis, Nov. 6, 1843, Africa III.

60. Widmann, May 26, 1845, Africa III.

61. Scheidt, Dec. 13, 1846, Africa III.

62. Scheidt, Nov 10, 1847, Africa III.

63. Locher Report, Oct-Dec., 1851, Africa IV.

64. Letter of Divorce of Mrs. Thompson, Accra, 1849, Africa IV.

65. Locher Report.

66. Schiedt, Nov. 1847, Africa III.

67. Centenary Sketch, pp. 14-15.

68. Riis, Sept. 4, 1844, Africa III.

69. Widmann, July 12, 1847, Africa III.

70. Stipulations for the West Indian Brethren, June 4, 1847, Africa III.

71. Walker, Oct. 3, 1849, Africa IV.

72. Centenary Sketch, p. 18.

73. Widmann, Mohr, Dieterle, Mar. 21, 1848, Africa III.

74. Meischel, Dec. 29, 1849, Africa IV.

75. David Kimble, A Political History of Ghana: the Rise of Gold Coast Nationalism, 1850-1928. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, p. 159.

76. Zimmerman, July 29, 1850, Africa IV.

77. Zimmerman, Sept. 10, 1850, Africa IV.

78. Ibid.

79. Zimmerman, Oct. 7, 1850, Africa IV.

80. Widmann, Feb. 12, 1845, Africa III.

81. Familien Register, Basler Mission, 1847-1890.

82. Dieterle, Aug. 5, 1847, Africa III.

83. Dieterle, Apr. 18, 1849, Africa IV.

84. Stanger, June 2, 1851, Africa IV.

85. Mader, June 2, 1851, Africa IV.

86. Zimmerman, June 2, 1851, Africa IV.

87. Zimmerman, July 18, 1851, Africa IV.

88. Familien Register, Basler Mission, 1847-90. Also conversation with Cornelia Vogelsanger, Volkerkundemuseum der Universitat Zurich who was doing research in the Basel archives. Some descendants of Catherine and Johannes Zimmerman eventually went to Europe. In a tragic footnote to their family history some of these descendants, as non-Aryans, were rounded up in the Holocaust. In the past and future international associations of this one woman, one can see the two horrors of the modernization process -- slavery and the Holocaust. Catherine was captured from a Portuguese slaver at the age of five; raised by the British wife of the governor of Jamaica; married to a Liberian and sent to the Gold Coast in 1843; divorced and re-married to a German missionary; finally, her descendants are caught up in the Holocaust. The truth is certainly more dramatic than any novelist would dare to conceive. (One thinks of attempts by novelists such as Schwartz-Bart: The Last of the Just and A Woman called Solitude and William Styron: Nat Turner's Rebellion and Sophie's Choice to deal with both slavery and the Holocaust.)

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90. Alex Clerk, July 1, 1851, Africa IV.

91. Debrunner, Op. Cit., passim.

92. Miller, Nov. 10, 1850, Africa IV.

93. Miller, June 1854, Mary Miller, Aug. 6, 1854, Africa VII.

94. Miller, Mar. 28, April 9 and June 18, 1855; Mary Miller June 18, 1855, Africa VII.

95. Walker, Oct. 3, 1849, Africa IV.

96. Dieterle, Nov. 10, 1851, Africa V.

97. Interview with Thomas Adade, October 1969 and August 1974.

98. Peter Hall erzahlt sein Leben. "Von West Indies nach West Africa." Walter Ringwald. Evan Missionsverlag. Gmbtl. Stuttgart. Baseleria Verlag, Basel, 1961.

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101. Zimmerman, July 29, 1850, Africa IV.

102. Zimmerman, Oct. 7, 1850, Africa IV.

103. Alex Clerk's Biography, 1855, Africa VII.

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PERCEPTIONS OF MEDICINE AND DISEASE IN NIGERIA

ROBERT A. HESS
Messiah College

Of serious concern to African nations is the provision of health care for their citizens. In the past, expensive medical institutions (hospitals and dispensaries) in urban centers have been the major thrust, but such institutions become prohibitively expensive when the goal is to reach the masses. This and other factors have led to a renewed interest in traditional medicine, and medical anthropology has become increasingly important.

Generally it has been assumed that the majority of Africans prefer traditional medicine, but such an opinion may likely be the result of generalizing from well-popularized studies of limited local areas to all of Africa. At least, the conclusions drawn from the study described in this paper indicate that the people of the area researched clearly consider scientific medicine as being most preferred. What is striking about this conclusion is that the area is far more rural than the Yoroba who were studied by Uma Maclean and about whom she drew a contrasting conclusion (Maclean, 1971). Hence this study of the Bura is important in demonstrating that one should avoid generalizing from the conclusions of one study to the whole of Africa, or even a whole country.

THE SETTING

The area chosen for this research lies in the village areas of Bila and Gusi, which are in the western part of Borno State, the homeland of the Bura ethnic group. The area has been influenced by the Biu Kingdom since the middle of the sixteenth century although the power of the Biu was minimal in the area until the establishment of colonial rule shortly after the beginning of the present century. Until that time, a village political structure served with most day-to-day matters settled by lineage heads. Villages generally acted jointly only in times of war when they were united under a trusted warrior.

With the establishment of colonial rule a more structured administration was introduced under a district head at Kwaya, about ten miles away, and a system of village heads under him. Hamlets were grouped together into these designated villages. This meant that traditionally rulers of many villages now become heads of hamlets under larger villages and lost their independence.

In many cases, families were removed from their leadership in villages and replaced by appointees who were favorites of the Biu Kingdom. Such was the case in Bila where the representative of the old line continues to live without legal power but retaining the traditional title.

The Bura are agriculturalists and the people of the Bila and Gusi areas continue to be farmers almost exclusively. Because of few opportunities for other employment, youth in search of employment leave the area. The main crops are guinea corn (sorghum) and groundnuts. A porridge made from guinea corn is the staple, although those who can afford to do so eat rice. Some householders, among whom are a few Fulani, keep cattle. Goats and/or sheep are found in nearly every compound. Many also have chickens. Nevertheless, meat is scarce and expensive and the diet lacks protein.

The traditional religion was animism, and both ancestral and village spirits were worshipped. Shrines were often in groves or caves or among the rocks. Other spirits were in abundance, many being considered malevolent. Overall was a high-god who was known by the name Hyel. He was the creator, the source of life. Such traditional religious concepts continue to dominate the world view of many and some continue the traditional rituals.

Islam had come to the Biu area with the establishment of the kingdom in the sixteenth century, but the people in the rural areas were little affected. During the past sixty years, however, many conversions have taken place. Those in political posts are Muslim almost without exception, for the power structure causes many who wish to gain advantage to adopt, at least, the outward symbols of Islam.

Christianity was brought to the area in 1923 by the Church of the Brethren Mission when the first station was established at Garkida about forty miles east. The mission later built stations at Garkida about forty miles east. The mission later built stations at Marama (established 1931) and at Wandali (established 1946), each about ten miles away. A school was placed in the Bila area thirty years ago. As a result, Christianity is strongest in the Bila area. In the hamlet of Kwagu, where the church is located, Christians dominate village affairs and may be nearly a majority. In Kwagu one notes the greatest repudiation of the traditional concepts of disease which ascribe illness to the evil machinations of the spirits.

The family system is partilineal and partilocal. The oldest male member of the extended family which may extend to four generations is consulted about important family affairs, especially matters related to marriage. If one's father is dead, one defers to one's father's brother. Within the household, the husband is head; he is the one who decides when and where his children and his wives will be taken for medical treatment although the matter is often discussed with his relatives. Often he will himself obtain roots, leaves or bark from the bush for members of his household. He may also buy medicine in the market.

Men of the Bila and Gusi village areas continue to practice polygyny and the practice is widespread. Perhaps a majority of the older men have two or more wives. Thus although many young men have left the area and household heads tend to be in their late forties or older, children are in abundance. Children are valued and loved, and the bearing of children is one of the attractions of polygyny.

METHODOLOGY

The main method of research used in this study involved the use of a questionnaire. A questionnaire which was in use by the Department of Community Medicine, Ahmadu Bello University was adapted to the conditions found in the communities in which the research was to take place. The Administrative staff of the Garkida Rural Health Programme, including Dr. James Kipp, The Medical Consultant, assisted both in constructing the questionnaire and in choosing the three health posts to be studied. They also volunteered to conduct some of the interviews and administer the questionnaires.

In order to be closer to the people and thus gain an understanding of the culture as a participant observer in the time-honored fashion, I arranged with the headmaster of the Mindikutaki Primary School to live in an unoccupied room in his household during a three-month period in early 1981. Mindikutaki, being one of the hamlets of the Bila Village Area and the location of the residence of the village head, was a site which lent itself well to the purposes of the research.

I chose Mr. Daniel Yarongao as my assistant. Since I already know the language well, having lived among the Bura for sixteen years, I wanted someone to assist me when conversations were beyond my vocabulary or when people found my Bura difficult to understand. Daniel was needed also to guide me to the hamlets of the area and to make introductions.

Daniel has had four years of primary schooling in the vernacular. He knows a little English, but not too much. He reads the vernacular with difficulty.

At one time he was employed by the mission as a dresser, and he takes an interest in medicine; people recognize that he has skills in herbal medicine as well.

With his background, Daniel was equipped to be of great service. Having been around Europeans he understood how to help me with the culture. Having lived in the area all of his life and having met the public as a dresser, he knew an amazing number of people personally. Thus doors opened readily. He was able to understand Bura when spoken with a European accent, and he knew how to speak in the Bura of limited vocabulary which I could also understand.

Working together, Daniel and I administered the questionnaire to 387 individuals. We limited ourselves to household heads, one or two of their wives (often the more senior wives) and teachers. This means that the sample is not representative of the entire population. This factor must be remembered especially when the catalogue of ailments (question 4) of the respondents is analyzed. The data will not present a cross section of the ailments of the entire population. Childhood ailments do not appear at all.

In order to obtain a sample which was representative, an attempt was made to get into all of the hamlets of Bila and Gusi Villages. With the exception of a few small hamlets, this was accomplished. Since Dayar lay in two village areas and because time did not permit more intense sampling, the survey was restricted to an area within two miles of that health post.

Most hamlets were small enough to permit the inclusion of nearly all households in which the occupants could be found home. In the larger hamlets, care was taken to include all sections of the hamlet, although not all households could be visited. In this way, the sample included a representative sampling of the clans and occupational groups which made up the hamlet.

In addition to the households polled in the Bila, Gusi, and Dayar areas, the staff of the Garkida Rural Health Programme polled thirty-three respondents whose completed questionnaires are included in the data.

Due to insufficient supervision, the results of an additional fifteen had to be discarded. Those staff who conducted the thirty-three interviews which supplied data used in the analysis contained in this paper chose householders from a widely scattered area. The interviews took place in the course of performing their duties in many different hamlets. In no case did they interview more than three people from the same hamlet. Eighteen different hamlets were included, mostly in the Biu, Shami and Gombi Locao Government areas.

Because these thirty-three respondents are from such a widely scattered area they do permit some comparison between the main geographical area of research and other areas. Unfortunately the sample included in these thirty-three questionnaires is not large enough nor was it selected systematically enough to yield dependable conclusions.

Other methods were utilized in addition to that of using a questionnaire. I interviewed numerous people concerning general cultural matters and medical practices and concepts. In eleven cases, I recorded the sessions with traditional healers and other elderly persons. I captured the daily activities of people on motion picture film, took hundreds of slide pictures, and made copious notes. The daily conversations about any subject which arose allowed me to gain an intimate knowledge of the cultural context and to make numerous friends. This provided an informed context in which to interpret the data gathered by the questionnaire.

CAUSES OF DISEASE

Although changes in health practices do not need to await a change in the perceptions about the nature and cause of disease, the preference for scientific medicine in the Bila, Dayar and Gusi areas is associated with natural and scientific explanations for the causes of disease. In an effort to ascertain what, in the minds of the people, causes disease, an open-ended question was asked to 385 people. Directly asked, the questions was, "What causes disease?" The data obtained therefrom were then tabulated in thirteen categories and analyzed according to the health post area, sex, age and occupation. The results are found in table G.

According to these results, people believe that dirt, flies, impure water and improper or impure food are the main causes of disease. Flies were mentioned most frequently (40.3%) with food nearly as often (35.2%). Mosquitoes, although not listed among the most frequent causes, were named in nearly 19 percent of the replies.

An analysis of the data reveals that the replies indicate an overwhelming preoccupation with naturalistic causes. Only 5-6 percent of the respondents replied that God causes disease, but they did name other non-physical causes which are included under the category labelled "other." Such replies are striking for their infrequency; only three people volunteered that ghosts cause disease, two that sorcery is a cause, one that sin brings disease, and two that evil is also a cause.

In spite of these initial replies, the observer should not jump to the conclusion that the Bura people have abandoned the traditional African view that spirits are the main causes of disease and have become naturalistic in their world view. More intense probing, which I did on a number of occasions, revealed that, on a level below that most vocalized, the potency of the spirit world is often assumed. This probing took the form of asking specifically if certain aspects of the spirit world caused diseases. Among those more intensely questioned, I found agreement with the following:

Witchcraft or sorcery	27 times;
Ghosts (mutu)	29 times;
Spirits	10 times;
Sin (Sometimes as a punishment for sin)	17 Times;

God	7 Times;
Devils	5 Times.

Unfortunately no accurate record was kept concerning the number of people specifically questioned in this more intense manner. Nevertheless a fair estimate is that at least sixty percent of those so questioned agreed to at least one of the non-physical causes.

On the other hand, some of the respondents would not agree to suggestions of non-physical causes. Of those who denied the non-physical causes which I suggested, fifteen refused to admit that sorcery could cause disease, twelve that ghosts or spirits were responsible, three that sin could bring disease, and two that God would inflict disease on people. Several were caught in the dilemma of believing that God was ultimately the all-powerful cause of everything while also holding a repugnance for assuming that a good God would ever cause evil.

In light of these negative attitudes tnoward non-physical causes of disease, one must take notice of the fact that both Christian and Muslim teachers have been preaching against the traditional animist base of the indigenous concepts regarding disease. For example, I found that Muslims generally would not accept the idea that spirits of the departed were in any way responsible for the welfare of the living, nor where the nature spirits and ghosts. On the other hand they could more readily agree that the shatans (devils) might be responsible. Typical of syncretized Islam in many parts of Africa and other areas were animism has been replaced, the spirits of the older world view have become the "jinn" of Islam.

Replies to probing questions concerning non-physical causes of disease, therefore, appear to reflect the teaching of the more recently arrived monotheistic faiths which are incompatible with the older animism. One sometimes suspected elements of a new orthodoxy in the replies received which may not accurately reflect the deepest opinions of the interviewees. For example, the frequently encountered assumption that a person who did not receive relief from a serious illness might consult a diviner-healer as a last result (and then somewhat reluctantly) indicated that one should at least make sure that the traditional spirit world was in order.

But non-physical explanations notwithstanding, the fact remains that the unguided replies to an open-ended question concerning the causes of disease indicate a decided naturalistic orientation. Such orientation is not incompatible with the traditional views of disease and illness. The herbalist traditionally diagnosed by an observation of physical symptoms and prescribed herbs which were considered effective in recovery from the symptom. Of course, there was no denying that non-physical causes might be involved, but the herbalist prescribed, in many cases, on the level of the naturalistic.

One is then justified in assuming that the people replied to my question regarding the causes of disease on the physical level because that is the level on which they most frequently initially approach the fight against an illness. There may, of course, be a reticence to discuss matters of the spiritual world openly, especially with a stranger from another culture. Nevertheless the people's statements concerning preferred places of treatment and their own self-declared record of attendance at health posts and dispensaries show a consistency of attention to the physical aspects of disease. So too does their preference for the herbalist over the diviner-healer.

For example, an explanation of mental illness given by a traditional practitioner noted for his skills in healing mental illness sound very akin to the germ theory. According to Mbwadiwa, a healer near Biu, Borno State, mental illness is caused by a sickness substance which is in the air. This sickness enters the nose of the victim and finds its way to the brain, whereupon it proceeds to turn the brain to water. In other causes, the huge vein which supplies blood to the brain turns red rather than remaining white. This causes the person to see double or to have hallucinations. At that point, the person loses his touch with reality and talks nonsense.

What is then necessary is for the healer to find an herb or herbs which will absorb the sickness so that it can be voided from the body. When the sickness begins to be voided from the body by the natural processes of elimination after it has been absorbed by the herbal medicine, the patient begins to recover. Eventually he returns to health.

Another healer who prescribes herbs for a wide variety of diseases gave similar explanations. He explained that the medicine lies in the stomach where it absorbs the sickness before passing on to be eliminated from the body. Even diseases caused by sorcery are cured in this fashion.

Although traditional concepts are, in some ways, compatible with contemporary explanations of disease causation, there are some notable differences in the responses of various segments of the sample. These differences are found when the older respondents are compared with younger respondents and farmers are compared with other occupations (Table C).

Those in the ten to twenty-nine age bracket were much more aware of the importance of dirt, flies, mosquitoes, and personal hygiene than were those over fifty years of age, and the contrasts was even more striking for those over seventy. In the case of mosquitoes as a cause, those over thirty years of age showed less awareness, while those over seventy showed almost no recognition of the insect as a cause of disease. In the case of the youngest category, 28 percent named mosquitoes, whereas only 3 percent of the eldest group did so.

There remains one final aspect which is notable regarding opinions as to causes of disease. This is the concept of the condition of the blood. Although less than 10 percent of the people responded to the question "what causes disease?" with the reply that blood did so, I found that the idea that the condition of the blood was important was generally accepted. One who had healthy blood could resist illness; one who did not was likely to become ill. Strictly speaking, then, blood is not a cause of disease, but it is important in explaining why people under the same conditions of environment will experience a different frequency of illness. If one had "hot" blood or a lot of blood, one can resist disease. On the other hand, if one's blood is diminished either in quantity or quality, one becomes sick. One ought, therefore, attempt to build up the blood either by eating good food or by taking certain medicines.

The concept appears to be a traditional one, as can be demonstrated by the fact that the more conservative members of the population, the farmers, named it as a factor whereas teachers did not. When it was suggested by a medical doctor that the concept may have developed from a knowledge that blood transfusions in hospitals produce spectacular recoveries, the idea was tested among people in the village. One village person specifically stated that the concept was traditional, that even their fathers used the expression "change of blood" to explain illness. Another denied that there was any connection with the modern therapy of giving transfusions. Rather, he related the expression to the concept that some foods build up the blood and thereby help one to resist disease.

"Strong" blood is therefore equated with robust health. The concept appears to be much like the western idea of constitution. When one has a strong constitution, one can combat illness. To the Bura the same ability to resist illness or recover from it is related to the condition of the blood.

In the end, the fact is evident that both traditional and scientific concepts regarding disease causation have blended to influence the people of the Bila, Gusi and Dayar areas. Evident too is the fact that in both traditional and modern spheres, naturalistic explanations are a standard aspect of the complex of ideas. Such naturalistic causes dominate the immediate consciousness of the people, but supernatural factors continue to be held and are more readily expressed by the older and more conservative elements of the population. How all this fits together did not become evident, but is was obvious that old and new ideas had blended together into a harmonious whole and that this was compatible with contemporary medical practices.

PREFERRED PLACE OF TREATMENT

One striking conclusion of the study of the medical health concepts of those Bura included in the survey was their clear preference for scientific medicine for treatment of all but a few diseases. Doctors and other Westerners working in the area had assumed that scientific medicine was the treatment resorted to after traditional medicine had failed, but the people do not themselves consider this to be the case.

Of course, many people do drink traditional medicine, and such medicine is often consumed prior to a visit to a dispensary or other medical facility, but this does not mean that it is the preferred method of treatment. In many cases, the taking of traditional, that is herbal, medicine is looked upon as a home remedy much as the average North American self-administers remedies from the drug store. When one becomes seriously ill, Bura victims of disease also prefer scientific medicine.

Not only did an investigation of the preferred place of treatment dramatically demonstrate this fact; a tabulation of the self-perceived performance over the two-week period prior to the survey also showed such preference. For example, 34.2 percent of the respondents from the Bila area and 25.2 percent of the people from the Gusi area stated that someone from their household had attended the village health post during that period (Table A). When visits to a dispensary or a hospital are added, the total percentages rise to 49 and 36.9 for Bila and Gusi respectively. Compared to this, the people of Bila turned to herbal medicine only in 11.7 percent of the cases and the people of Gusi did so in only 12.9 percent of the cases. Only one person among those questioned in both Bila and Gusi combined visited a diviner-healer. If market medicine is also considered as scientific medicine, as it truly is in most cases, and it is discovered that people from nearly 20 percent of the households bought medicine in the market, the preference for scientific medicine is dramatically clear.

One factor in this record seems especially important; scientific medicine must be easily available. At least this appears to explain why the people of Dayar (also refer to Table A) recorded a different performance than did those in Bila and Gusi. Their preferences did not show the striking contrast with the people of the other two areas that their performance did (Tables A and E). That is to say, the preferences for a place of treatment stated by the people of Dayar where similar to those stated by the people of Bila and Gusi, but their actual choice of a place of treatment was very different.

Significantly the health post at Dayar has been closed for a number of reasons related to the health post workers and the village committee. Hence they have to travel approximately five miles to Bila for a visit to a health post or more than five miles in the other direction to a dispensary. Notably, in nearly 14 percent of the households, the people did travel to Bila and a number of people bought medicine in the local market. But the clear alternative appears to be to run to the herbalists; people in nearly 45 percent of the households did so.

However, as stated, the performance of the people of Dayar is not in accord with their stated preference. A tabulation of the preferred places of treatment for thirteen complaints shows that there was little significant difference between people of the various areas regarding their preferences for the service of the village health post (Table F). Some of the differences can be explained by the fact that many of the people in the "other" category are close to the general hospital in Garkida whereas the people of Dayar are relatively close to a prestigious dispensary. Therefore variation in the perceived seriousness of the complaint may cause one to vary in the preference of one source of scientific medicine -- health post, dispensary or hospital -- to another depending upon how available they may be.

As a matter of fact, the survey reveals that of all the geographical areas, the people of Gusi have the highest regard for the herbalist. This preference was further documented by the results of the questions which compared village health post and the dispensary to the traditional doctor in the survey as to opinions concerning why people did not attend either the village health post or a dispensary (Tables D and E). Gusi respondents more frequently believe that a preference for the traditional practitioner might be a factor which kept people from attending the village health post or the dispensary. Ironically the people of Dayar, though they used the services of the herbalists more, believe that preference for herbalists is not an important factor as to why people do not use the village health post. In fact, Dayar respondents show a very low preference for herbalists for nearly every disease, less than 4 percent except in the cases of diseases or ailments which are generally considered by people of all areas to be those for which scientific medicine is not clearly superior.

Muting the clear preference for scientific medicine for most complaints is this careful designation of two categories of disease: (1) Those which respond best to scientific medicine and (2) those which respond best to traditional medicine. As one person said, "some diseases are not those of the dispensary." Another person spoke of "modern illnesses" and claimed that they need modern medicine, that traditional medicine was of little value for such disease. Traditional medicine was only for certain diseases.

When asked to indicate which diseases would respond well to traditional medicine, one person replied that it was effective only against illnesses caused by the spirit. Another added to this those diseases for which the causes were not evident ("The eye that sees only partially") and for diseases related to the traditional religion.

Nevertheless, the results of the survey reveal some specific complaints for which people feel that herbal medicine is more effective. And these complaints may or may not fit the above categories. Jaundice is an outstanding example. Nearly 50 percent of the interviewees thought that the herbalist was the preferred place of treatment for jaundice. Not quite as many thought that the traditional healer was the place to go to have broken bones treated, and far more showed a preference for treating broken bones in the hospital than was the case for jaundice. The word has been spread that scientific medicine has no cure for jaundice -- even nurses and dispensers are of this opinion -- and therefore people turn to traditional medicine.

A good example of this is the case of mental illness concerning which people express confidence in both traditional healers and the hospital. In this case, the public has learned that severely disturbed people can be well cared for at Maduguri, the state capital, more than one hundred miles away. Over the years, the mental hospital there has become well known as the proper place to treat those whose anti-social behavior makes it undesirable to have them remain in the villages. This is clearly shown by the results of the survey. On the other hand, there are also traditional healers who have built up reputations as skillful and successful therapists. Chief among them is Mbwadiwa to whom I referred earlier in this paper. He is well known in the area, and minstrels sing ballads to his fame. The survey shows the impact of his success; people also look to traditional healers for aid for the mentally ill.

Yet another factor may explain the strong preference for traditional medicine for mental illness. This is the fact that scientific medicine has not had much success for this category of illness. Certainly there have not been the spectacular cures in cases of mental illness that the "miracle drugs" have produced in the case of disease caused by bacteria or viruses. At the same time, because of the nature of the illness, the success rate of traditional healers is high, perhaps nearly as high as among western psychiatrists. Other studies have shown a similar, and often stronger, confidence in traditional healers in the case of mental illness (Twumasi, 1975, p. 105).

But one factor about the finds of this survey is remarkable for its contrast with other areas of Africa. This is the lack of preference for the divinerhealers and ritualists. Generally, investigators have found that, especially in the case of diseases that did not yield to scientific medicine, Africans turn to the traditional healers who work more in the realm of the supernatural. Mental illness and infertility are two such complaints for which people often seek the diviners, spiritualists and ritualists. This is not as frequently the situation among the people studied. There is relatively little preference for such healers. Oddly the greatest preference for the *diviner-healer was found in the "other"* category which was made up largely of people living near Garkida, a less remote area than the main area of research at Bila, Dayar and Gusi. However, even people in this category show low confidence in such healers. Clearly the diviner-healer has little prestige among the Bura people.

Specific questions concerning the work of the diviner-healers supported the conclusion that they did not enjoy the confidence of the people. Frequently the questioner was met with expressions that showed distrust of the diviner-healers. In many cases there were charges of outright fraud and attempts to deceive people. Going to a diviner-healer was for many an action of last resort. As one resident of Gusi said, "If you have tried a lot of medicine but have received no relief, go to the diviner-healer to find out the cause." Another said that if one has tried hospitals without result and they (the people at the hospital) say, "Go to the diviner-healer," one would go. In another case where a person was asked when one would go to a diviner-healer, his reply was that if something troubles you, such as barrenness, you would go to the diviner-healer to find out why. He added though that one would not get the truth. It is only as a last resort and with little feeling of confidence that most people would go to a diviner-healer.

Such is not the case with the herbalists. As we have noted, many people still go to them, and many people gather herbs to be used in home cures. In the past, traditional healers reportedly often combined the skills of the diviner and herbalist, but those days are mostly gone. I was able to learn of only two or three people who did divining. However, one person named denied that he practiced divining. Another was only vaguely referred to and never located, and the other was Muslim healer, thus not truly a traditional medicine man.

Although the herbalists are, in contrast, still everywhere to be found, they too have lost prestige as confidence in traditional medicine has declined. One person expressed it this way: "Traditional medicine does not work as well as before." Another confirmed what had already been observed: formerly traditional medicine had been used extensively, but now western medicine was by far the predominant kind upon which people depended. On the other hand, he noted that people often used both traditional and western medicine. An interesting example of this dual approach was one child who had a charm on her leg but whom the mother also took to the clinic at the Bila Health Post for immunizations.

There need be no inconsistency in such practices. In the case of the child, the perception is that one is protecting the child against two different kinds of disease or against two different causes of the same symptoms. One older informant, aged 70, strongly disagreed with the idea that using traditional medicine would keep a person from using scientific medicine. The confidence lies mainly in the latter. Taking traditional medicine is supplementary or even preliminary. A parallel of this common attitude may be the local trader who was a licensed chemist (druggist) and who sold modern drugs in the market but did not list market drugs as a preferred source of treatment! For him too, his medicine was merely supplementary; the preferred source of treatment was a health post, dispensary or a hospital.

Opinions as to the preferred place of treatment showed some variation, though generally not much, between different segments of the sample. The greatest variations were those already noted: (1) contrasts found between the residents of the geographical areas represented by the health posts (Table E) and (2) a sharp difference in the attitudes of teachers, compared to other occupational groups. But other variations were less pronounced. There was less preference for home deliveries expressed by females than by males (Table H), but the sex of the respondent made little difference for other complaints. Furthermore, an analysis of the effect of age upon stated preferences for places of treatment showed that younger respondents either considered breathlessness more serious than did older people or else older people were more confident in their village health workers and depended upon them to either treat the complaint or direct them to the appropriate place (Table I). The same was true for diarrhea and jaundice. No one over seventy years of age thought that the hospital was the preferred place of treatment for jaundice.

In fact, older people generally demonstrated the most confidence in the village health workers. In addition to the significant differences in such confidence just noted, older people showed notable trust in the village health worker for swellings, blood in urine, blood in stool and mental illness. Comments made by the elderly at the time of the interview showed that in many cases, they were not sure as to which place was best to take a complaint. Thus they would say, "I would go to the village health worker and he will tell me what to do or where to go. In other words, the results of the survey, in this case, show a personal trust in the workers and not necessarily a confidence in the medicine of the health post.

As one would expect, the older age groups show greater confidence than did others in the herbalists. This is true for all complaints except jaundice, broke bones, and mental illness -- all diseases assumed generally to be diseases for which scientific medicine is less outstandingly successful. But this confidence in herbalists does not extend to all traditional medicine. Striking is the discovery that even older respondents showed almost no confidence in the diviner-healers. Times have changed, affecting even the older segment of the population.

However, in spite of these variations in the stated preferences of different segments of the sample just described, one overwhelming conclusion generally applies. Clearly the preferred medicine of first resort is scientific medicine. Just a few decades ago it may have been herbal medicine with scientific medicine as the alternative to which one turned after herbal medicine had failed. Today that is not the case. Today, one would turn, for the most part, to traditional medicine in resignation if scientific medicine failed to produce a cure.

Why this is so was not the object of this research, but others have documented a similar development where scientific medicine has been available for a generation or more in programs competently and efficiently run

(Foster, 1978, pp. 304-305). The school at Bila is now thirty-years old and the one at Dayar, slightly younger, but the mission has been in contact with the area for more than fifty years. This contact has resulted in literacy classes, outposts of the Christian church, and dressing stations as forerunners of the present educational and medical services. The dispensary at Marama, which has an excellent reputation and is only ten miles away, was begun shortly after 1935, and Wandali in the opposite direction and only twelve miles away was opened at least thirty-five years ago. It too has an excellent reputation.

Such facilities have had a decided impact upon the people of the area. Striking cures have demonstrated the effectiveness of scientific medicine as fevers and infections have yielded to treatment by sulfa drugs, penicillin, antibiotics and antimalarials. One informant specifically noted the eradification of small pox as having made its impact upon the faith which people have in scientific medicine.

Indeed scientific medicine is often regarded as some sort of magic, and magically cures are expected. Thus as one takes a particular kind of drug for two or three days and there is not visible improvement, the medicine is regarded as ineffective. With this orientation, the general assumption that scientific medicine is ineffective for treating jaundice results from the long convalescent period. Nevertheless, the last half century has produced enough outstandingly successful drugs to convince the people of the area that scientific medicine is overwhelmingly superior to traditional medicine. As a result, such medicine now is the medicine most respected and sought after by the Bura people.

NOTES

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TABLE A

Households in Which Someone Consulted One of the Following Within the Previous Two Weeks:

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Village Health Worker	34.2	67	13.9	10	25.2	30	15.2	5	26.7	112	14.0415
Dispensary	13.3	26	1.4	1	6.7	8	48.5	18	12.1	51	52.1673
Hospital	1.5	3	0	0	5.0	6	53.3	11	4.8	20	67.5331
Market Vender	19.4	38	27.8	20	19.3	23	30.3	11	21.7	91	4.01784
Diviner-Healer	5	1	0	0	0	0	15.2	5	1.4	6	48.0742
Herbalist	11.7	23	44.4	32	12.6	15	15.6	5	17.9	75	41.974
Sample Size	100	196	100	72	100	119	100	33	100	420	

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TABLE B

Last Visit to Above Sources of Medical Assistance For Households Wherein No One Had Visited Such Sources Within the Previous Two Weeks.

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Less Than 12 Months Ago	78.9	45	100	17	86.1	37	75.0	3	84.3	102	
More Than 12 Months Ago	15.8	9	0	0	11.6	5	0	0	11.6	14	
Never	5.3	3	0	0	2.3	1	25.0	1	4.1	5	
Sample Size	100	51	100	17	100	43	100	4	100	121	9.48813

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TABLE C

Individuals Suffering From the Following Complaints Within the Previous Two Weeks:

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
Fever	26.2	51	18.1	13	16.8	20	48.5	16	23.9	100	16.1706
Headache	36.7	72	31.9	23	43.7	52	60.6	20	39.8	167	9.3426
Cough	19.4	38	12.5	9	18.5	22	48.5	16	20.2	85	19.2957
Blood in Urine	2.0	4	5.6	4	5.9	7	15.2	5	4.8	20	11.484
Blood in Stool	9.7	19	5.6	4	10.1	12	9.1	3	9.0	38	1.32185
Breathlessness	22.4	44	18.1	13	22.7	27	15.2	5	21.2	89	1.49026
Diarrhea	20.7	21	12.5	9	6.7	8	42.4	14	12.4	52	31.4721
Jaundice	13.8	27	5.6	4	5.9	7	6.1	2	9.5	40	7.71823
Swelling of – – Face – Abdomen – Feet	3.6	7	1.4	1	3.4	4	6.1	2	3.3	14	1.64136
Other	52.6	103	52.8	38	52.1	62	21.2	7	50.0	210	11.8819
Sample Size	100	196	100	72	100	119	100	33	100	420	

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TABLE D

Opinions as to Why People Do Not Go to Health Posts:

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
It is Too Far	6.1	12	4.2	3	13.4	16	43.8	14	10.8	45	46.7846
Don't Want to Lose Time from Work	10.7	21	2.8	2	13.5	16	25.0	8	11.2	47	19.4782
Staff are Unfriendly	2.6	5	7.0	5	3.4	4	9.4	3	4.1	17	6.54204
Treatment Not as Good as Traditional Doctor	10.7	21	4.2	3	20.2	24	3.1	1	11.7	49	21.6817
Disease Cannot Be Treated at the VHP	22.5	44	11.3	8	30.3	36	21.7	7	22.7	95	12.8559
Treatment Not as Good as at Dispensary	21.4	42	18.3	13	33.6	40	15.6	5	23.9	100	11.8288
Drugs Are Not Always Available	23.0	45	45.1	32	34.5	41	10.7	3	29.2	121	30.8735

TABLE D

Opinion as to Why People Do Not Go to Health Posts

(Continued)

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
If You Wait at Home You Can Recover without Medical Aid	7.7	15	9.9	7	10.1	12	9.7	3	8.9	37	4.16713
Need Injections	42.6	83	46.5	33	55.5	66	40.6	13	46.8	195	8.44051
Need Free Treatment	18.9	37	12.7	9	30.3	36	43.8	14	23.0	96	73.7913
Sample Size	196		71		119		32		418		

TABLE E

Opinion as to Why People Do Not Go to the Dispensaries:

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
It is Too Far	16.8	33	12.7	9	34.4	41	61.3	19	24.5	102	46.3272
Don't Want to Lose Time from Work	7.1	14	8.5	6	15.1	18	37.5	12	12.0	50	33.9458
Staff are Unfriendly	5.6	11	0	0	6.7	8	9.4	3	5.3	22	9.46147
Treatment Not as Good as Traditional Doctor	8.2	16	4.2	3	20.2	24	21.9	7	12.0	50	19.9346
Disease Is One Which Cannot Be Treated at Dispensary	18.4	36	5.6	4	24.4	29	18.7	6	18.0	75	13.3657
Treatment Not as Good as at Hospital	14.3	28	8.5	6	19.3	23	12.5	4	14.6	61	7.74081
Drugs Are Not Always Available	14.3	28	8.4	6	18.5	22	37.5	12	16.3	68	22.4414

TABLE E

Opinion as to Why People Do Not Go to the Dispensaries:

(Continued)

Health Posts	Bila		Dayar		Gusi		Other		Total		Chi Square
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
If You Wait at Home You Can Recover without Medical Aid	5.6	11	4.2	3	12.6	15	6.3	2	7.4	31	11.2559
Need Free Treatment	15.8	31	11.3	8	21.9	26	18.7	6	17.0	71	34.4763
Sample Size	100	196	100	71	100	119	100	32	100	418	

TABLE F

Preferred Place of Treatment by Health Post (Expressed in Percent)

Health Post and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Fever									
Bila	3.6	15.8	75.0	1.5	0	3.1	1.0	100	196
Dayar	2.8	31.9	61.1	1.4	0	2.8	0	100	72
Gusi	0.8	26.9	58.1	5.9	0.8	6.7	0.8	100	119
Other	12.5	12.5	62.5	0	0	9.4	3.1	100	32
Total	3.4	21.5	66.8	2.6	0.2	4.5	1.0	100	419
Headache									
Bila	11.7	19.0	61.2	5.1	0	1.0	2.0	100	196
Dayar	15.3	44.4	36.1	1.4	0	1.4	1.4	100	72
Gusi	22.7	21.9	42.0	6.7	0	4.2	2.5	100	119
Other	12.5	15.6	59.4	0	0	9.4	3.1	100	32
Total	15.5	23.9	51.4	4.5	0	2.6	2.4	100	419
Cough									
Bila	11.7	19.0	61.2	5.1	0	1.0	2.0	100	196
Dayar	15.3	44.4	36.1	1.4	0	1.4	1.4	100	72
Gusi	22.7	21.9	42.0	6.7	0	4.2	2.5	100	119
Other	12.5	15.6	59.4	0	0	9.4	3.1	100	32
Total	15.5	23.9	51.4	4.5	0	2.6	2.4	100	419
Breathlessness									
Bila	27.2	26.2	39	7.1	0	0	0.5	100	195
Dayar	16.7	47.2	31.9	2.8	0	1.4	0	100	72
Gusi	31.1	29.4	24.4	15.1	0	0	0	100	119
Other	20.7	41.4	13.8	3.4	0	0	20.7	100	29
Total	26.0	31.8	31.8	8.4	0	0.3	1.7	100	415

TABLE F

Preferred Place of Treatment by Health Post
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

Health Post and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Diarrhea									
Bila	1.5	17.4	75.0	4.6	0	1.0	0.5	100	196
Dayar	8.3	41.7	45.8	2.8	0	1.4	0	100	72
Gusi	9.2	30.3	48.7	8.4	0	1.7	1.7	100	119
Other	6.9	20.7	55.2	3.4	0	0	13.8	100	29
Total	5.3	25.5	61.0	5.3	0	1.2	1.7	100	416
Jaundice									
Bila	8.7	9.2	27.6	54.0	0	0	0.5	100	196
Dayar	6.9	23.6	29.2	40.3	0	0	0	100	72
Gusi	9.4	15.4	21.4	53.0	0	0	0.8	100	117
Other	31.0	20.7	0	31.0	3.5	0	13.8	100	29
Total	10.1	14.3	24.2	49.8	0.2	0	1.4	100	414
Broken Bones									
Bila	35.2	11.8	16.8	35.7	0	0	0.5	100	196
Dayar	37.5	25.0	12.5	23.6	0	0	1.4	100	72
Gusi	22.7	6.7	9.2	61.4	0	0	0	100	119
Other	32.3	3.2	0	48.4	3.2	0	12.9	100	31
Total	31.8	12.0	12.7	41.9	0.2	0	1.4	100	418
Swelling of face, feet, or abdomen									
Bila	61.9	10.3	15.5	11.8	0	0	0.5	100	194
Dayar	47.2	29.2	15.3	6.9	0	0	1.4	100	72
Gusi	45.8	17.8	13.6	22.0	0	0	0.8	100	118
Other	61.3	16.1	0	12.9	3.2	0	6.5	100	31
Total	54.7	16.2	13.7	14.0	0.2	0	1.2	100	415

TABLE F

Preferred Place of Treatment by Health Post
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

Health Post and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Blood in Urine									
Bila	25.1	36.9	31.3	6.2	0	0.5	0	100	195
Dayar	26.4	44.4	26.4	1.4	0	0	1.4	100	72
Gusi	23.5	45.4	18.5	11.8	0	0	0.8	100	119
Other	46.8	37.5	6.3	6.3	0	0	3.1	100	32
Total	26.6	40.7	24.9	6.9	0	0.2	0.7	100	418
Blood in Stool									
Bila	21.4	38.3	34.2	5.6	0	0.5	0	100	196
Dayar	26.4	41.7	27.8	4.1	0	0	0	100	72
Gusi	16.0	48.7	25.2	10.1	0	0	0	100	119
Other	45.1	38.7	6.5	6.5	3.2	0	0	100	31
Total	22.5	41.9	28.5	6.7	0.2	0.2	0	100	418
Mental Illness									
Bila	63.3	5.1	5.6	25.0	0	0.5	0.5	100	196
Dayar	36.6	14.1	8.5	40.8	0	0	0	100	71
Gusi	65.3	5.1	3.4	26.2	0	0	0	100	118
Other	41.9	3.2	0	38.8	3.2	0	12.9	100	31
Total	57.7	6.5	5.1	29.1	0.2	0.2	1.2	100	416
Delivery									
Bila	44.4	44.9	4.1	2.5	0	0	4.1	100	196
Dayar	48.6	37.5	11.1	0	0	0	2.8	100	72
Gusi	59.7	30.3	5.0	2.5	0	0	2.5	100	119
Other	59.4	3.1	6.2	0	0	0	31.3	100	32
Total	50.6	36.3	5.7	1.9	0	0	5.5	100	419

TABLE F

Preferred Place of Treatment by Health Post
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

Health Post and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Infertility									
Bila	73.8	8.7	2.6	13.9	0.5	0	0.5	100	195
Dayar	57.0	23.6	12.5	6.9	0	0	0	100	72
Gusi	74.7	11.0	2.5	9.3	2.5	0	0	100	118
Other	56.8	0	0	30.0	6.7	0	6.7	100	30
Total	69.9	11.3	4.1	12.6	1.4	0	0.7	100	415

TABLE G

Causes of Disease --- Opinions:
(Expressed in Percent)

Variables	Dirt	Flies	Mosquitos	Water	Cold Season Drafts Etc.	Lack of Hygiene	Sun	Fatigue Too Much Work Etc.	Food Improper or Impure	Blood Weakened or Deminished	God	Unknown	Other	Sample Size
Health Posts														
Bila	28.6	40.3	18.9	21.4	14.5	17.9	4.1	6.6	35.2	4.6	5.6	10.7	23.0	196
Daya	26.4	19.4	8.3	20.8	2.8	22.2	4.2	4.2	41.7	18.1	11.1	23.6	25.0	72
Gusi	22.2	41.0	12.0	16.2	4.3	20.5	9.4	8.5	41.0	17.0	9.4	8.5	31.9	117
Total	26.2	36.6	14.8	19.7	9.4	19.5	5.7	6.8	38.2	10.9	7.8	12.5	26.0	385
Sex														
Male	27.9	34.5	13.3	23.5	10.2	16.8	4.9	8.8	44.2	8.4	7.5	12.4	33.2	226
Female	23.9	39.6	17.0	14.5	8.2	23.3	6.9	3.8	29.6	14.5	8.2	12.6	15.7	159
Age														
10 - 29	34.0	43.4	28.3	28.3	15.1	32.1	9.4	3.8	47.2	3.8	1.9	1.9	26.4	53
30 - 49	32.1	42.0	16.0	19.1	8.0	34.1	4.3	5.6	40.0	9.3	6.2	9.3	30.2	162
50 - 69	19.5	33.6	10.2	16.4	10.2	11.7	6.3	7.8	35.2	14.1	6.3	18.7	22.8	128
70 - Up	15.2	12.1	3.0	18.2	6.0	3.0	3.0	12.1	30.3	21.2	33.3	15.2	18.2	33
Total	26.6	36.7	14.6	19.4	9.6	19.1	5.6	6.6	38.6	11.2	8.0	12.0	26.1	376
Occupation														
Farmer	27.3	34.0	13.4	18.0	8.8	14.4	5.7	10.3	43.8	9.3	7.7	13.9	33.0	184
Housewife	23.5	38.3	16.8	9.4	8.1	19.5	7.4	4.0	26.8	16.1	9.4	13.4	14.1	149
Teacher	23.8	38.1	14.3	71.4	19.0	52.4	0	0	52.4	0	4.8	4.8	52.4	21
Trader	33.3	66.7	33.8	33.3	33.3	33.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	33.3	0
Other	35.3	41.2	11.8	58.8	11.8	35.3	0	0	64.7	0	0	0	23.5	17
Total	26.0	36.5	14.8	19.5	9.4	19.5	5.7	6.8	38.3	10.9	7.8	12.5	26.3	384

TABLE H

Preferred Place of Treatment by Sex
(Expressed in Percent)

	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Fever									
Male	3.1	16.6	70.0	3.6	0.4	5.1	1.2	100	253
Female	3.6	28.9	62	1.2	0	3.6	0.6	100	166
Total	3.3	21.5	66.9	2.6	0.2	4.5	1.0	100	419
Headache									
Male	0.4	7.5	74.3	2.4	0	14.6	0.8	100	253
Female	1.8	12.0	70.5	1.8	0	12.7	1.2	100	166
Total	1.0	9.3	72.8	2.1	0	13.8	1.0	100	419
Cough									
Male	14.2	22.9	53.4	5.5	0	3.2	0.8	100	253
Female	17.5	25.3	48.2	3.0	0	1.8	4.2	100	166
Total	15.5	23.9	51.3	4.5	0	2.6	2.2	100	419
Breathlessness									
Male	20.9	34.1	34.6	7.6	0	0.4	2.4	100	249
Female	33.7	28.3	27.7	9.7	0	0	0.6	100	166
Total	26.0	31.8	31.8	8.4	0	0.3	1.7	100	415
Diarrhea									
Male	3.2	22.7	63.7	7.2	0	1.2	2.0	100	251
Female	8.5	29.7	57.0	2.4	0	1.2	1.2	100	165
Total	5.3	25.5	61.0	5.3	0	1.2	1.7	100	416
Jaundice									
Male	10.8	12.7	24.7	50.2	0	0	1.6	100	251
Female	9.2	16.6	23.3	49.1	1.6	0	1.2	100	163
Total	10.1	14.3	24.2	49.8	0.2	0	1.4	100	414

TABLE H

Preferred Place of Treatment by Sex
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Broken Bones									
Male	29.2	9.9	11.5	47.4	0	0	2.0	100	253
Female	35.8	15.2	14.5	33.3	0.6	0	0.6	100	165
Total	31.8	12.0	12.7	41.9	0.2	0	1.4	100	418
Swelling of face, feet, or abdomen									
Male	53.6	17.6	14.0	13.2	0	0	1.6	100	250
Female	57.0	13.9	13.3	15.2	0.6	0	0	100	165
Total	54.9	16.2	13.7	14.0	0.2	0	1.0	100	415
Blood in Urine									
Male	21.4	40.5	27.0	10.3	0	0.4	0.4	100	252
Female	34.3	41.0	21.7	1.8	0	0	1.2	100	166
Total	26.6	40.7	24.9	6.9	0	0.2	0.7	100	418
Blood in Stool									
Male	19.8	42.1	28.6	9.1	0	0.4	0	100	252
Female	26.5	41.6	28.3	3.0	0.6	0	0	100	166
Total	22.5	41.9	28.5	6.7	0.2	0.2	0	100	418
Mental Illness									
Male	57.9	6.3	4.4	29.8	0	0.4	1.2	100	252
Female	57.3	6.7	6.1	28.1	0.6	0	1.2	100	164
Total	57.7	6.5	5.1	29.1	0.2	0.2	1.2	100	416
Delivery									
Male	52.2	31.2	5.9	2.8	0	0	7.9	100	253
Female	48.2	44.0	5.4	0.6	0	0	1.8	100	166
Total	50.6	36.2	5.7	1.9	0	0	5.5	100	419

TABLE H

Preferred Place of Treatment by Sex
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Infertility									
Male	70.4	9.6	3.6	14.4	0.8	0	1.2	100	250
Female	69.3	13.3	4.8	9.6	2.4	0	0	100	166
Total	69.9	11.3	4.1	12.5	1.5	0	0.7	100	416

TABLE I

Preferred Place of Treatment by Age
(Expressed in Percent)

Age Categories and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Fever									
10 - 29	3.2	30.2	57.1	0	0	9.5	0	100	63
30 - 49	4.0	21.4	65.3	3.5	0.6	4.6	0.6	100	173
50 - 69	3.7	20.0	69.6	3.0	0	3.0	0.7	100	135
70 - Up	0	8.8	79.5	2.9	0	2.9	5.9	100	34
Total	3.5	21.1	66.7	2.7	0.2	4.7	1.0	100	405
Headache									
10 - 29	1.6	15.9	65.0	0	0	15.9	1.6	100	63
30 - 49	0.6	9.8	72.9	1.7	0	15.0	0	100	173
50 - 69	1.5	6.7	74.8	3.7	0	11.8	1.5	100	135
70 - Up	0	2.9	79.4	2.9	0	11.8	3.0	100	34
Total	1.0	9.1	72.9	2.2	0	13.8	1.0	100	405
Cough									
10 - 29	12.7	30.1	50.8	1.6	0	3.2	1.6	100	63
30 - 49	17.4	24.3	49.7	4.0	0	2.9	1.7	100	173
50 - 69	14.8	23	51.9	5.9	0	1.5	2.9	100	135
70 - Up	17.8	14.7	52.9	8.8	0	5.9	0	100	34
Total	15.8	24.0	50.9	4.7	0	2.7	1.9	100	405
Breathlessness									
10 - 29	34.9	36.5	23.8	4.8	0	0	0	100	63
30 - 49	28.7	28.1	31.6	8.8	0	0.5	2.3	100	171
50 - 69	23.3	32.3	33.1	9.0	0	0	2.3	100	133
70 - Up	11.8	26.5	47.0	14.7	0	0	0	100	34
Total	26.4	30.7	32.2	8.7	0	0.5	1.7	100	401

TABLE I

Preferred Place of Treatment by Age
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

Age Categories and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Diarrhea									
10 - 29	9.9	31.2	50.8	1.6	0	4.9	1.6	100	61
30 - 49	4.0	27.7	59.5	6.4	0	1.2	1.2	100	173
50 - 69	4.5	21.6	67.2	4.5	0	0	2.2	100	134
70 - Up	5.9	14.7	64.7	11.8	0	0	2.9	100	34
Total	5.2	25.1	61.2	5.5	0	1.2	1.8	100	402
Jaundice									
10 - 29	23.0	14.8	18.0	42.6	0	0	1.6	100	61
30 - 49	11.6	16.3	20.9	49.4	0.6	0	1.2	100	72
50 - 69	4.5	9.6	27.1	56.3	0	0	2.2	100	135
70 - Up	0	15.1	45.5	39.4	0	0	0	100	33
Total	10.0	13.7	24.7	49.9	0.2	0	1.5	100	401
Broken Bones									
10 - 29	30.7	4.8	9.7	51.6	0	0	3.2	100	62
30 - 49	30.1	12.1	12.1	44.5	0	0	1.2	100	173
50 - 69	36.3	14.0	12.6	35.6	0	0	1.5	100	135
70 - Up	29.4	11.8	14.7	41.2	2.9	0	0	100	34
Total	32.2	11.6	12.2	42.3	0.2	0	1.3	100	404
Swelling of face, feet, or abdomen									
10 - 29	66.7	15.9	9.5	7.9	0	0	0	100	63
30 - 49	53.5	12.4	16.4	17.1	0	0	0.6	100	170
50 - 69	54.8	18.5	11.1	14.1	0	0	1.5	199	135
70 - Up	44.1	20.6	17.7	11.8	2.9	2.9	0	100	34
Total	55.1	15.7	13.7	14.2	0.3	0	1.0	100	402

TABLE I

Preferred Place of Treatment by Age
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

Age Categories and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Infertility									
10 - 29	62.3	4.9	3.3	23.0	4.9	0	1.6	100	61
30 - 49	75.0	11.1	4.1	9.3	0	0	0.5	100	172
50 - 69	67.4	14.8	4.4	11.1	1.5	9	9.8	100	135
70 - Up	70.6	8.8	2.9	14.7	3.0	0	0	100	34
Total	70.2	11.2	4.0	12.4	1.5	0	0.7	100	402

TABLE I

Preferred Place of Treatment by Age
(Expressed in Percent)
(Continued)

Age Categories and Disease	Hospital	Dispensary	Village Health Post	Herbalist	Diviner-Healer	Market Vender	Home	Total %	Total Number
Blood in Urine									
10 - 29	34.9	46.0	15.9	1.6	0	1.6	0	100	63
30 - 49	24.4	40.1	27.9	7.0	0	0	0.6	100	172
50 - 69	25.2	41.5	25.2	7.4	0	0	0.7	100	135
70 - Up	26.5	23.5	29.4	17.7	0	0	2.9	100	34
Total	26.5	40.0	25.3	7.2	0	0.3	0.7	100	404
Blood in Stool									
10 - 29	32.2	45.2	21.0	0	0	1.6	0	100	62
30 - 49	17.3	44.5	31.8	6.4	0	0	0	100	173
50 - 69	25.9	40.8	28.1	5.2	0	0	0	100	135
70 - Up	17.7	17.7	32.3	29.4	2.9	0	0	100	34
Total	22.5	41.1	29.0	6.9	0.2	0.3	0	100	404
Mental Illness									
10 - 29	50.8	6.3	1.6	39.7	0	0	1.6	100	63
30 - 49	60.7	7.5	5.2	25.4	0	0	1.2	100	173
50 - 69	55.2	6.0	5.2	30.6	0.7	0.8	1.5	100	134
70 - Up	63.6	6.1	6.1	24.2	0	0	0	100	33
Total	57.6	6.7	4.7	29.3	0.3	0.2	1.2	100	403
Delivery									
10 - 29	63.5	23.8	7.9	0	0	0	4.8	100	63
30 - 49	45.7	41.0	5.2	1.7	0	0	6.4	100	173
50 - 69	48.2	37.0	5.9	2.2	0	0	6.7	100	135
70 - Up	55.9	32.3	5.9	5.9	0	0	0	100	34
Total	50.1	36.3	5.9	2.0	0	0	5.7	100	405

DIFFERENTIAL DEVELOPMENT AND MISSIONARIES IN NIGERIA

FRANK A. SALAMONE
Elizabeth Seton College

INTRODUCTION

Prevailing Victorian and Edwardian evolutionary ideology doomed Northern Nigeria to relative backwardness. Ironically, it was because of its presumed advanced position on the evolutionary ladder that Northern Nigeria suffered under the benign neglect of indirect rule. Simply put, because the putative rulers of Northern Nigeria, the Fulani, were on their way to becoming Europeans, they were fit partners for British colonial rulers.

These British expatriates were not, it should be noted, representative of their home areas. In social class origin and values they overrepresented its upper middle class, and, therefore, as a class threatened with unacceptable change at home they clung tenaciously to proper aristocratic behavior in Nigeria. In addition, the expatriate community was always a small one; the ratio was usually about 4000 to one. (Cf. Brook 1931. Kirke-

Greene, mss., refers to colonial officers as "the thin white line.")

Ideologically and pragmatically it was necessary for the British to find partners to aid them in ruling the vast expanse of Northern Nigeria and its population of over 11,000,000 people. The presence of the aristocratic religion of Islam, therefore, helped define the situation for the British. Ideologically, Islam symbolized an advanced religion whose followers were almost at the evolutionary level of European Christians. Practically, it signified a centralized governmental structure through which the British could rule while claiming an evolutionary and legitimate continuity.

The British dilemma and the manner of its resolution had important consequences for Nigeria's religious, political, and developmental history. As a result of deliberate British policy, Islam in the Hausa-Fulani area increased from five percent to eighty percent. Consequently, the power of British clients increased, increasing, in turn, British Power. The end result of Indirect Rule was the strengthening of a foreign group of conquerors, the Fulani, and the acceptance of their ideologized version of political reality. The fact that local people, including the Hausa themselves, rejected that version did not overly impress the British.

The Fulani version of reality, in addition to being expedient, also coincided with the British ideology of indirect rule. In sum, the Fulani claimed to come from Arabia and to form an aristocratic Islamic elite of scholars. When Hausa rulers failed in their duty to uphold appropriate Islamic principles - mainly concerning on taxation and treatment of the Fulani cattle herders - their holy leader Shehu Usman dan Fodio waged a jihad (holy war) and established a true Islamic state, the Sokoto Caliphate. The Caliphate united a number of former Hausa states of the North plus additional areas never under Hausa rule. Thus, from 1804 until the British conquest of 1903, the Fulani reigned supreme under a purified Hausa governmental structure. (Cf. Hendrixson 1980, Smith 1960 and Dorward 1974.)

British administrative officers did not seem to notice that everyday reality contradicted the official Fulani version. The evolutionary anthropology of their day, after all, posited people at various stages of development. "Hamitic" peoples, presumably, were further advanced than various "Negroid" peoples. Similarly, Muslims were obviously closer to Christians than "pagans." Therefore, the fact that Fulani claimed non-Negroid "Hamitic" ancestry and were Muslims allowed the British to categorize them as "true rulers" and natural allies. (Cf. Evans-Pritchard 1951 for succinct summary of the prevailing ideology. Luggard 1906, 1919, 1922 reveals an unfolding of his version of that ideology.)

The consequences for Nigeria's history are clear. The Hausa-Fulani became models of civilization, British partners in spreading high culture to "truculent" pagans. Nothing, therefore, should be done to upset the spread of the Hamitic Hausa-Fulani culture, for spread of that culture, including Islam, was a positive sage in promoting cultural-evolutionary progress. Consequently, in order to validate their hold on their prestigious position, Fulani began to redefine and stress a tradition based on Islam as an ethnic boundary marker (Hendrixson 1980:57.) Anything or anyone who interfered with that interpretation of reality, with what Dorward (1974) terms the "working misunderstanding, was considered subversive."

MISSIONARIES AND SUBVERSION

Within the British expatriate group, there was one segment that consistently threatened the fundamental perception of reality that justified indirect rule and the negotiated definition of Fulani ethnicity that accompanied it. Missionaries posed a great threat to colonial reality because they had their own contradictory version of reality. That version did not view Muslin Fulani as natural rulers or Islam as a stage that would enhance "pagans." Understandably, colonial officers feared that missionary activity would rupture their tenuous alliance with Fulani rulers.

Therefore, the official wisdom come to be that Emirs opposed not only Christian missionaries but also Western education. Such a conclusion is problematic at best. Ubah (1976:352) and Omatseye (1981) argue that Emirs based their opposition to Western education on the seemingly inextricable link between it and missionaries. Ubah (1976:363) is even of the opinion that the Emirs would not have strongly resisted mission schools, much less non-sectarian Western schools, if colonial pressure had been brought to bear. The fact that British opposition to missionaries in Islamic areas was far from timid suggests that it was British perception of the North as Islamic that led them to strive to keep missionaries out of the area for so long. That perception's link to indirect rule and its success certainly contributed to the ferocity of colonial opposition to missionaries in the "Muslim North."

The theoretical foundation for colonial opposition to missionary work in Muslim areas was Lugard's pledge to Muslim Emirs that he would follow a policy of non-interference with Islam (Ubah 1976:356). Although Lugard's reasons for the pledge are problematic, its implications are clear. Quite simply, British policy in the North led to separate development of Northern and Southern Nigeria and sowed the seeds for problems faced by independent Nigeria even today.

Elsewhere I have discussed the difficulties that Walter Miller, a cooperative missionary befriended by Lugard, faced in trying to establish a mission school along lines acceptable to Lugard in 1905. Quite simply, it was impossible to satisfy Lugard and his colonial officers. The school failed, and it is obvious that Lugard was playing a rather tawdry game of cat and mouse with Miller. Only after years of frustration did Miller act in desperation when in 1927 he violated the law and established a church within the heart of Muslim Zaria itself. That action led to a "compromise" in which he was given land outside Zaria proper to establish the school at Wusasa which educated many of Northern Nigeria's future leaders. (Cf. Salamore mss.^{b} and Graham 1956.)

The situation in the non-Islamic areas of Nigeria was quite different. In southern Nigeria Igbo and Yoruba forced the British to provide modern education, or at least to allow missionaries to do so. Western education, in one form or other, has a long history, in fact, in southern Nigeria. After all, Portuguese were in touch with Benin in the fifteenth century, and from that time on at least some Nigerians have found it profitable to learn enough European skills so that they would be able to become mediators, laborers, or entrepreneurs. Therefore, in the nineteenth century when British contact became more routine and constant, there was a relative flood of Yoruba students. Most of those students wished to learn law and theology, for steady upward mobility appeared to lie in those areas. (Cf. Koehl 1971:116.)

Although Igbo started later than Yoruba, their enthusiasm for education soon allowed them to pull even. Indeed, in many areas they even surpassed the Yoruba. Igbo had no compunction about shopping around for the best offer from missionaries. Before allowing missionaries into an area they would ask the staff to build a school and hospital and supply personnel for them. In return, Igbo happily provided labor, materials, and converts.

In sum, Igbo, Yoruba, and other "Southerners" actively sought modern education. They perceived Western education as the key to advancement in the colonial administration. Their very familiarity with that administration and its continuous demand for clerical help provided them with incentives to master the skills needed for success in schools, and subsequently in administration - punctuality, regular attendance, good deportment, etc.

The Muslim North, in contrast, was protected from any religious influences it might find objectionable. Although Christian missionaries had been in Kano in 1890 and Zaria shortly after, a good ten years before the British raj and the consequent "pacification" of Northern Nigeria in 1903, Lugard feared their presence would anger the Fulani emirs and complicate his job. Moreover, the ideology of the time supported the "practical" solution Lugard advanced as Indirect Rule or the Dual Mandate. Lugard's experience with missionaries, furthermore, did little to alleviate his skepticism regarding their ability to work within the framework of Indirect Rule.

Given the key ideological foundations of that theory, Lugard was in fact correct. As indicated earlier, even so reasonable a missionary as Miller eventually openly defied the system after twenty-five years or so of seeking an accommodation with it. Bishop Tugwell's response was more typical of early missionaries. Quite simply, he ignored Lugard's commands.

In 1900, Lugard permitted Bishop Tugwell, leader of the Church Mission Society's Hausaland's Missions to proceed to Muslim areas under the provision that they go no farther than the limit of government protection. Not only did they press on to Kano, an area beyond government control, but the Emir of Kano refused to allow them to stay. Lugard only learned of the incident from a news account in a London paper. The paper had received the story from one of the missionaries who had been invalided home. Tugwell further complicated relations by refusing to heed Lugard's frantic orders to leave Kano. (Cf. Graham 1966:7, 10-13 and Ubah 1976:355.)

What, then, were the ideological foundations of education under Indirect Rule which ultimately led to such a marked difference in the development of Northern and southern Nigeria? First, there was a conviction that the inevitability of the link between Western education and missionaries must be broken. Although missionaries had a place in the overall Northern scheme of education, it was a subordinate one. In that light Government policy assumes some degree of coherence in what otherwise appears as a bewildering series of rather fitful starts and stops.

Next, it appears that Lugard was primarily in favor of "industrial" education and the compulsory use of English. The latter is an interesting rebuttal against those who claim that the use of English in education violated Lugard's principles of Indirect Rule. Therefore, he encouraged missionaries who provided industrial education. In order to prevent the identification of education and missionaries, moreover, Lugard set up government schools. In conformity with his principles, he refused to entrust the education of freed slave children to the missions, because he believed that to do so would be handing them captive converts, thereby enraging Muslim sensibilities. Therefore, he established Government Freed Slaves' Homes in Zungeru (1901) and Bornu (1904) (Graham 1966:8-10).

Margery Perham (quoted in Kirk-Greene 1966:ix) claims that Lugard never intended to exclude missionaries from his overall education policy, only to delimit their role very clearly and carefully. According to Perham, Lugard sought to achieve the following five goals: The strengthening of government control of education, establishment of more government schools, closer liaison with mission schools and the use of grants-in-aid to effect that liaison, the founding of a government schools inspectorate, and emphasis on character training through religious and secular moral education.

Whatever Lugard's intentions, and they are problematic, his successor, Sir Percy Girouard, did actively promote policies to keep missionaries from Muslim areas of the North for many years. Ironically, the man he chose to implement those policies was himself an ex-missionary whom Walter Miller suggested for the job when he himself refused it, Hans Vischer. In 1908, Vischer assumed his position as head of the Education Department. Until 1912 there were only three men in the department (Kirk-Greene 1966:xxiii).

The results of Girouard's anti-missionary policy are clear, for in the southern part of Northern Nigeria, the so-called pagan area, missionaries were encouraged. In 1912 there were five non-missionary and twenty-nine missionary schools in all of Northern Nigeria. There were 350 students in non-mission schools and 604 in mission ones. In 1931 there were 117 non-mission schools with 3882 students. There were 3446 students in mission schools. On the eve of independence in 1955 there were only 171,200 students in Northern Nigeria out of a total school-age population of 2,500,000 (Kirk-Green 1966:xiii).

It is clear that no matter what Lugard's stated educational policies were, they simply could not and did not succeed. There was no possible way to implement them without either missionaries or other expatriate personnel. It is clear from the record that the government was unwilling to spend the vast sums of money that it would require to bring in non-missionary expatriate teachers. Indirect Rule, after all, required that there be local financial support for all local governmental functions and it insisted upon the innate hostility between Islam and Christianity.

Thus, as Graham notes (1966:167-168), even where money for educational expansion was available, staff were not. The logic of indirect rule demanded that missionaries be opposed in "Muslim" area even when they were the only feasible vehicles of education. What Dorward (1974) terms the "working misunderstanding" required even modern rulers to be anti-missionary. Thus, in Yauri, Sokoto State, in 1972 less than one percent of the school-age population was in school (Salamone 1976:6), and Yauri was an emirate long-noted for its "progressive" emirs (Reussler 1968:142-143).

Koehl (1971:121-122) sketches a compelling view of the educational map of Nigeria that resulted from differential administration in Northern Islamic area.

> It would be fascinating to be able to draw a map of the educational culture of Nigeria at the time the young political and social revolutionaries of the 20's were schoolboys. Northern Nigeria with its own divergencies would scarcely overlap the educational subcultures of the South. Perhaps the overlap would fall most in the animist Middle Belt where mission schools had succeeded in penetrating, and in a few government schools in urban areas. Ibo and Yoruba communities in the North were just beginning to introduce the already well-developed set of educational expectations from the South concerning primary schooling as the path to independent and family mobility and wealth ... The ferment among the young men had come in the South. The largest 'overlap of common educational culture' would still not blanket Southern Nigeria in 1914 ... [the] Lagos-Abeokuta-Ibadan area [shared a common Western educational culture].

These latter, it must be noted, were areas of greatest missionary activity, an activity encouraged by the people themselves and welcomed by the colonial administration. Koehl continues to discuss other differences between Northern and Southern Nigeria. In addition to British elitist schools, such as those the Northern government fostered, schools based on the British public school tradition, the South also had teachertraining schools which spread a rather rigid, if muted Christianity to the North, for many of the North's teachers came from Southern Nigeria. Many Southerners, moreover, had begun before the 1930s to participate in a world-wide metropolitan educational culture in London or New York. In sum, the North had fallen far behind the South by 1930 and, more importantly, was immersed in a different educational culture.

Clearly, if the spread of Western education was the goal of British colonial policy in Northern Nigeria it was never achieved. I do not believe, however, that it ever was the Administration's policy to seek the spread of Western education in Northern Nigeria. Such policy was often discussed and even debated. Some officers did, in fact, consistently support such policy. In general, however, the Administration supported Western education sufficient to supply clerks for the bureaucracy, and only when local taxes provided enough money to support schools. In Muslim areas it kept out the one group, missionaries, who could have spread Western education until the 1930s when they had insufficient resources to carry on their work.

The Northern Administration's attitude is summarized in the following excerpt from a Northern colonial officer's critique of the Administration's policy.

> Beneath these two groups - the professional man and the authentic clerk - is a hoard of quasi-literate, parasitic, litigious, showy, noisy, insolent, and as irresponsible as they are untrustworthy. They wear the white man's clothing, speak pidigin English, and, by writing petitions on anonymous charges, can create an activity in Government circles [as maddening] as it is ridiculous. The vicious point in the policy of the Education

> Department is that once a youth has learnt his three R's he regards it as beneath him to continue the life of a farmer, cultivating the fields and living in the villages. They [the ill-educated charlatans] are always from Southern Nigeria: the Moslem in the North shows a magnificent superiority in character and worth to the negroes and negroid people of the South in this respect just as he does in declining to ape European clothes and habits: he has a culture of his own of the worth of which he is conscious (Crocker 1971 (original 1936): 207-08).

Crocker's argument, one in perfect conformity with the ideological underpinning of indirect rule, is that although a few Nigerians had attained the heights of European education most could not do so because of patent differences between "Negroes" and Europeans. Whether or not these differences were innate was an issue for "empirical" research. However, these differences do exist. Culturally, if not biologically, the "Negro" had not evolved to the level of Europeans. Therefore, European education could only produce mischief. The Government in Lagos was aiding such mischief through its encouragement of written petitions and Western missionary education. Crocker's clear dislike of educated Southerners mirrored that of his colleagues who, therefore, tried to protect "their people" from the evil effects of Western education. The results of that protection are seen in the table from Bray (1981: Table 1.1) which is reflected on the next page.

The results of the Northern Administration's policy is clear from the table. Not even the much honored Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 could do much to close the gap. The Great Depression, World War II, and the race to independence drew resources away from closing the educational disparity between Northern and Southern Nigeria. That disparity and its consequences figured prominently among the fundamental causes of the Nigerian Civil War. (See Whittabke 1981, ed., for discussions.) Bray's (1981) recent work makes it clear that in no way will that gap be closed soon.

YEAR	PRIMARY	SCHOOLS	PRIMARY	ENROLMENTS	SECONDARY	SCHOOLS	SECONDARY	ENROLMENTS
	NORTH	SOUTH	NORTH	SOUTH	NORTH	SOUTH	NORTH	SOUTH
1902	1	126	n.a.	11,872	0	1	0	20
1912	34	150	954	35,716	0	10	0	67
1926	125	3,828	5,210	138,249	0	18	0	518
1937	549	3,533	20,269	318,610	1	26	65	4,285
1947	1,110	4,984	70,962	538,391	3	43	251	9,657
1957	1,080	13,473	185,484	2,343,317	18	176	3,643	28,208
1965	2,743	12,234	492,829	2,419,913	77	1,305	15,276	180,907
1972	4,225	10,313	854,466	3,536,731	255	964	63,515	337,288

CONCLUSIONS

Herskovits's (1937) concept of "syncretism" has political as well as religious applications. Moreover, the process is more conscious and intentional than Herskovits seems to indicate. Certainly, this was the case in the unfolding of the "working misunderstanding" that underlay Indirect Rule in the Islamic areas of Northern Nigeria. Successful Emirs worked closely with colonial officials in order to ensure that their versions of colonial reality prevailed. In turn, however, they found themselves constrained by rules of the game. One consequence was the abominable educational system and its backwardness in comparison with the South.

What is needed at this stage of our investigation is more detailed portraits of day-to-day reality of the social construction of colonial reality. (See Salamone, mss.[b]) Once there are sufficient case studies, then comparisons of actual practices and their consequences can be made. Silverman (1979), for example, has noted that traditional historical and institutional approaches to dependency in developing countries fail to get to the root of the real issues because they fail to note important microprocesses taking place.

I suggest that it is important to understand and describe the manner in which subordinate members of colonial society successfully reshaped the perception of their rulers. Drawing heavily upon symbolic interaction and transactional theory, such a view also applies those perspectives to areas where they are usually neglected. Thus, colonial reality is constantly emerging rather than fixed. Certainly, that perspective explains the reasons that Fulani Emirs and British colonial officers invented a past "reality" for Northern Nigeria upon which they agreed. That reality, furthermore, required keeping out missionaries who threatened its very presuppositions. (For additional comments see Salamone, in press.)

Finally, it is essential to stress the strength of the ideological underpinnings of colonial rule, for it is too often overlooked or explained away.

Although there was colonial adaptability, colonial administrators justified any flexibility in terms of their evolutionary ideology. When adjustments could not be justified, then that ideology forced a rigid, logical compliance. Thus when Abdullahi, Yauri's Emir, desired Western missionary education, the colonial officer in charge, P. G. Harris, opposed him, for in the colonial ideology that prevailed a Muslim state ipso facto was opposed to Western education and the Christian missionary influence it entailed.

Quite simply, missionaries threatened the negotiated reality of colonial life that prevailed in Northern Nigeria. Although there were, of course, many versions of missionary reality and no monolithic view prevailed, none of the versions exactly conformed with that of the colonial administration which very clearly viewed an educated Nigerian as a spoiled one. Even the immensely complex Walter Miller could not please his close friend Frederick Lugard. Again the ideological importance of the struggle cannot simply be reduced to materialistic difference of opinion, although those elements are present. Missionaries and colonial officers in the Islamic areas of the North simply perceived different realities.

The consequences of those differential perceptions had more than ideological results. The North is largely Islamic today because the British administrator and the Hausa-Fulani Emirs agreed that it was so in the early days of colonial rule. In fact, it was not. The North is backward today largely as result of the negotiated reality that the Emirs and colonial officers created. That reality required keeping missionaries out of the "Islamic" North. The North is still paying for that decision, one based, ironically, on the colonial definition of Muslims as advanced and "pagan" Negroes as "retarded in development."

DEDICATION

Without the cooperation and understanding of my family, no work would ever be finished. Virginia, my wife, provides not only inspiration but interpretation. Frank and Catherine provide love and a reason for continuing. Their questions demonstrate that the obvious often is not. Finally, I want to thank all those missionaries and students who aided me on numerous occasions and were patient with my questions.

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NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS

J. S. EADES is a Lecturer in Anthropology at the University of Kent in Canterbury, England. He engaged in fieldwork in Ghana and Nigeria on the Yoruba. Among his many publications is The Yoruba Today.

ROBERT A. HESS (Ph.D. Howard University, 1972) is Professor of History and African Studies at Messiah College, Grantham, Pennsylvania. He has spent 16 years in Nigeria as an educator and has traveled in southern and central Africa. In 1981, he spent three months doing the field research in Nigeria which is the basis for this article. He has published "J. F. Ade Ajayi and the New Historiography in West Africa," African Studies Review, XIV, 273-85, "Content Analysis as a Tool for Clarifying Trends in Modern Nigerian Historiography" in Explorations in Quantitative African History, ED, Joseph P. Smaldone, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1977, and "Wholeness and Health in Contemporary Nigeria," in Missiology, and International Review. XI, 2, April 1983.

DANIEL T. HUGHES holds his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Bellarmine College and his Ph.D. from the Catholic University in Washington, D.C. He has taught at the Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines and has done extensive research there and in Micronesia. At present he is a professor and chairperson in the Department of Anthropology at Ohio State University. He is author of Political Conflict and Harmony on Ponape and the co-author and co-editor of Political Development in Micronesia and of Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania.

PHILIP M. KULP was born to Church of the Brethren missionaries at Lassa in Borno State, Nigeria. After spending his childhood there he returned to the States for his elementary education. He attended Hillcrest High School, Jos. A graduate of Juniata College, he received a M.Div. from Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pa., a M.Ed. from Shippensburg University and a Ph.D. from American University. He returned to Nigeria and served the Church of the Brethren as an educational missionary at Waka Schools, Biu. He has been on the Sociology faculty of Shippensburg University since 1965. Dr. Kulp has returned to Nigeria several times, the most recent in 1983. He has presented papers at meetings of the American Anthropological Association, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the African Studies Association.

ROBERT LAWLESS is Associate Professor of Anthropology and Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. Holding an M.A. from the University of the Philippines and a Ph.D. from the New School for Social Research, he has done fieldwork in the Philippines, Haiti, and New York City. His most recent article is "The Cognitive Contexts of Urbanism in Northern Luzon: A Case Study of Ethnicity and Urbanity," in Urban Anthropology and his most recent book is The Concept of Culture: An Introduction to the Social Sciences.

PETER G. MEWETT was born 1948, Singapore. Educated at Universities of Hull (B.A., 1971), Manchester (M.A. Econ, 1973), and Aberdeen (Ph.D., 1980), he currently is employed as a Research Fellow in the North Australia Research Unit of the Australian National University. His major research has involved two years fieldwork in a crofting community in the Isle of Lewis (Scotland), and current work on some northern Australian towns, these research projects being separated by a lecturing appointment in Wales. He has published a number of major articles about Lewis and currently is completing a book on the same work. He is now preparing for publication a manuscript on northern Australia research.

FRANK A. SALAMONE is Chair of the Social Science Department at Elizabeth Seton College. He is co-founder and co-director of the Mission Institute at Seton College. Salamone has done fieldwork in Nigeria, Great Britain, and the United States. He has written on missionaries, theory, methodology, identity, and refugees, among other topics.

CLAUDE E. STIPE is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI, where he has been since 1968. His degrees are B.A. (1952) from Wheaton College (Illinois), M.A. (1955) from UCLA, and Ph.D. (1968) from University of Minnesota -- all in anthropology. He is a fellow of: American Anthropological Association, American Scientific Affiliation, and Society for Applied Anthropology and a member of: American Ethnological Society, American Society for Ethnohistory, Society for Psychological Anthropology, and Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and a member of Sigma Xi, The Scientific Research Society. He has articles published in the American Anthropologist, Anglican Theological Review, Christian Scholar's Review, Current Anthropology, and Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation.

ROBERT B. TAYLOR is an anthropologist with the Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work at Kansas State University and holds a Ph.D. from the University of Oregon. He is interested mainly in cultural change and Mesoamerican ethnology and has done research among the Zapotecs of Mexico. His publications include "Conservatism in a Zapotec Town" (Human Organization, 1966) and Cultural Ways: A Concise Edition of Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (Allyn and Bacon, 1980).

DOLORES DEE VELLENGA (b. Feb. 22, 1937 - d. Oct. 3, 1983) began her involvement with African studies when she joined the first Peace Corps group of volunteers who were sent to Ghana in August 1961. Dee Dee taught biology at West Africa Secondary School in Accra until 1963. At the completion of her Peace Corps service Dee

Dee began studies for degrees in African Studies and Sociology at Columbia University where she was a Ford Foundation International Fellow. She returned to Ghana where she undertook dissertation research on "Exchange and Control in Family Law." She received her Dip. Certificate in African Studies in 1966 and her Ph.D. in 1975. Dee Dee was also a recipient of a NDFL fellowship and a Social Science Research Council Post-doctoral fellowship. Dee Dee returned to Ghana in 1974 and again in 1975-76 when she continued her research on the economic networks among Ghanaian women farmers. She also carried out research in London and the Basel Archives on patterns of colonialism, legal development and family law in Ghana. Dr. Vellenga has published many articles in journals such as the International Labor Review and in Ghana and the Ivory Coast: Perspectives on Modernization (1972) on "Attempts to Change the Marriage Laws in Ghana and the Ivory Coast." Her work can also be read in Female and Male in West Africa, edited by C. Oppong (1983). A recent historical article on missionaries in the Basel Mission in Ghana will be appearing in the Journal of Third World Studies, Spring 1985. Dr. Vellenga was completing revision of her manuscript on Women, Inequality and Conflict in Southern Ghana. Despite her eight year struggle with cancer, Dee Dee continued to work with students at Muskingum College where she taught from 1972 and continued to research, write and participate in activities which furthered knowledge and engagement with the future of Ghana and African peoples. In October, 1983 she presented a paper on "Food as a Cash Crop for Women Farmers in Ghana: The Persistent Search for Profit," at the 1st Meeting of the Association of Women in Development.